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REVOLUTION IN LOS ANGELES

(1911)

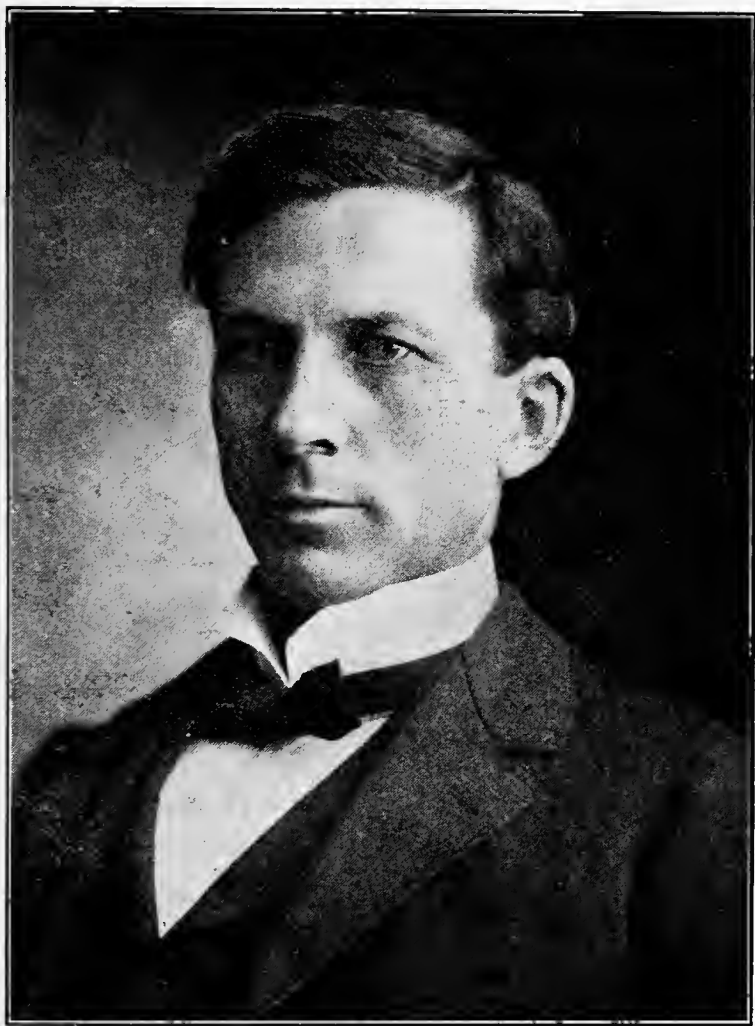


BY
ALEXANDER IRVINE

Campaign Manager Socialist Party

CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST FORUM
Meetings Sundays 2 to 4:30 P. M. Blanchard Hall
231 S. BROADWAY, LOS ANGELES, CAL.

711 SAN FERNANDO BUILDING
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA



JOB HARRIMAN



P R E F A C E



THIS is a record of events—not a catalogue of names.

It is the story of a great political struggle, as the writer saw it.

Some day it may be spread on a larger canvass; but at least this outline is necessary to an understanding of the determining factors of the fight.

EVENTS LEADING UP TO THE FIGHT

For over twenty years Los Angeles has been the most conspicuous battleground of industrial interests in the United States. As this part of California changed from an agricultural to a manufacturing center, the labor problem intensified. The wage workers of San Francisco had secured better conditions, by a shade, than any other city, and the business interests of the Southern City determined early to put Los Angeles on a different footing. The E. H. Harriman and H. E. Huntington interests functioned through the Republican party and Otis functioned through the Times. Born of these interests was the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association, locally known as the "M. and M." In the course of years this important organization bludgeoned into submission almost every phase of life. The combination of business, the press, law, courts and churches became the regimentation of an idea and the idea was to crush union labor and dominate the labor market.

Capital was not content with possession of the city's wealth. It possessed the city government. Whatever the law-making body decreed the courts upheld, and whatever all of them together did the church bestowed its benediction upon and made moral.

Then Capital became arrogant. It had selected Los Angeles for the fight and its every act was carrying the war into Africa.

The Los Angeles Building Trades went out on strike for an eight-hour day early in 1910. When the strike had been in progress a few weeks the labor men wrote a letter to the M. and M. asking for a Peace Conference. No reply was received, but the Times announced next morning that the communication had been consigned to the waste paper basket. That was followed by an order to the unions to capitulate or get out of town in thirty days! The M. and M. pronunciamiento was followed by an anti-picketing ordinance. In the Council Chamber the city attorney told the Reform "Good Government" councilmen that

the obnoxious law was unnecessary. Nevertheless, it was passed unanimously and put into immediate effect.

Up to the time of the enactment of the new and unnecessary law only one arrest for disturbance had been made. Immediately afterwards scores and hundreds were arrested and landed in the dungeon cells of the city bastille. The juries were picked as they are picked in Russia. They knew what was required of them and they obeyed implicitly. Wage workers lost all confidence in law, law makers and interpreters, courts and judges. Labor accepted the challenge and the fight was on—is on now. The waste paper basket incident inaugurated a new kind of strike here—a strike at the ballot box. The new regime came as a matter of last resort.

Politically, the unions have either been gagged by an obsolete law or divided by an enemy. In Los Angeles, as in other cities, the unions were without political hope and the Socialists were standing afar off saying, "Lord, I thank Thee that I am not as other men." Socialism had hope for union labor but it was wrapped up in a copper-riveted theory. It called labor to repentance and labor was deaf to the call.

So wide was the gulf between union labor and the Socialist Party that the Socialists were unable to rent a hall in the Labor Temple for propaganda meetings. The time was ripe for a leader—a leader with brains and tact. The leader was at hand—he had been at hand for twenty years and all that time he had stood for principles which when put into operation made Los Angeles the strongest Socialist city in the United States. The leader was Job Harriman. The union men had made up their minds to form a political party. Harriman conferred with the union leaders. At a meeting he took the Socialist platform plank by plank and called for an informal vote. The entire platform was acceptable. All that divided the wage workers was a name. That was made clear. A club was formed instead of a party—a Union Labor Political Club. This club was composed of representatives from all the unions. An executive committee of the club, composed of the most active and efficient workers who were both Socialists and union men, presented to the Socialist Party the political needs of the economic organizations. In that way all unions functioned in the political party of the class.

A few impossibilists left the convention and a few union men held aloof, but they were a negligible quantity and acting in good faith came back and co-operated when they saw how the thing worked.

Harriman's ideas as I understood them are as follows:

The labor union is the unit of the class struggle. It is the organized expression of labor's actual conflict with capital. Thousands of Socialists are in no such conflict. They can come and go at will but the union man is chained to the fight. He cannot escape. Whether he is wisely organized is another question. Nine-tenths of the union men in Los Angeles believe in Industrial Unionism and the present railroad strike is based on a demand for recognition of that form—the federation.

Harriman considers the union the point of departure for all economic and political activity. He says: "The labor unions are the only organized expression of the wage workers' interests within the present system of production and they can no more be disbanded or crushed out of existence than can the wage worker himself cease to work for wages. The efficiency of the wage earner's effort to protect himself from the exploiting power of capital is increased in proportion to the numbers of men who are bound together by or are fighting for the same interest. The energy of each individual becomes merged, as it were, with the energy of all the members of his union; and the energies of all function as one man against the common enemy, whether engaged in a strike, boycott or a political contest. The interest as expressed by the organized workers must stand out in bold relief and the organization must be permitted to function for that political interest without restraint; otherwise it can be of no avail. It is for this reason that organized labor must act without restraint and as a unit in the political party of its class, with as complete power to dominate and determine all political policies as it has to dominate economic policies, for the political machine is, and can be only the reflex of the economic interests.

It is apparent that the economic organization will become more efficient in proportion as its members understand the philosophy of its class interests. Hence the necessity of functioning through the Socialist Party and of merging political "activities."

When the Union leaders saw that the sole use of the Socialist Party was to subserve the interests of the working class on the political field they gave their co-operation—slowly at first, but wisely and enthusiastically as interest developed. A number of union leaders were veteran Socialists. The Union Labor Political Club adopted the program of the Socialist Party and the unions to a man followed suit.

From a few hundred dues-paying members the numbers increased

to thousands. These union men being already by necessity class conscious and being actually incarnated in the class struggle, naturally became more revolutionary than the Socialists themselves. We had more Socialist objections to the incoming of the unions than there were union objections to being swallowed up politically by the Socialist Party—though we had mighty few of either and infinitely less than was expected.

In May, 1911, the Socialists of Los Angeles nominated a full ticket, headed by Job Harriman.

On the 6th of August the city convention adopted unanimously a municipal program and the campaign began.

There were four candidates for the office of Mayor and about one hundred aspirants for the council.

The "Good Government" party nominated George Alexander for reelection. W. C. Mushet was the "wide open city" candidate of the liquor and allied interests. Miles Gregory, a councilman, represented himself.

HOW THE "GOO GOOS" GOT INTO POWER

The "Good Government" party is the outcome of the Lincoln-Roosevelt League organization of 1908—an insurgent movement in the Republican Party. At that time the Southern Pacific Railroad held in its voracious maw the State of California. Its managers managed the Republican Party and used the machinery for the exclusive use of that corporation. The insurgents said of the S. P. at that time:

"Such wrongs will not endure, never have—never can. The righting of them will be by peaceful means and soon or by horrors that history hath not yet written."

Some of the horrors came, and they came by the unanimous vote of the Lincoln-Roosevelt "Good Government" Party in the city council of Los Angeles!

The anti-picketing ordinance was an insult, a slap in the face of labor, and it was answered by the dynamite of the desperados in the labor movement who had abandoned hope and but for the Socialist Party the prophecy of the insurgents might have been fulfilled to the letter. A few samples of the literature published by the "G. G.'s" in 1908 will show the character of the appeal they made to the people:

"ABOUT THE SYSTEM

"John D. Rockefeller and J. P. Morgan are at the head of it—two men who regard the people simply as things to be exploited, and the

nation as their own estate. The Standard Oil is the dominant corporation. Allied with it are various trusts, each controlling the output and the price of some food or other essential commodity. Working in its interest are the railroads and other transportation companies of the United States. Acting as its servants are a multitude of lesser corporations in every state, handling light, heat, power, water, means of communication—in short, everything that can be made an essential to the people at large. An ‘eminently respectable’ assemblage, is it not? Includes quite a number of ‘representative’ men owning untold millions of money.

1. “It has set up an oligarchy of wealth such as history shows cannot endure, especially in a republic.

2. “It has established ‘taxation without representation,’ which our fathers said was ‘tyranny,’ for it owns the Congress of the United States and the Legislatures of all the States; and while the people are heavily taxed to pay for government, they really have no more to say at Washington or in the state capitals than if they were citizens of a foreign country.

3. “It has set up as a standard for every accomplishment, not merit, but the self interest of the system.

4. “It has made it impossible for any man to succeed according to his abilities unless he will take bribes of some kind.

5. “It has made this a country practically without laws; for not only will it not permit laws to be passed save at its behest, but it has seen to it that the blood-bought principles of our constitution should become inoperative by reason of disuse.

“Just a few things like this are the matter with the system, friends, but alongside of them the acts of the king who caused the writing of the Declaration of Independence were puerile. Just a few things like this, but by contrast with them the acts of the traitors of history were those of saints.

“Just a few things like these, but if we don’t wake and watch and work, if we don’t go to the primaries (1908) and wrest from these unspeakables our rights, then, God help us and our children, for there will come a settling day on which we’ll pay—‘all that we have and all that we are and all that we hope to be in this life.’

“Such wrongs will not endure, never have, never can. The righting of them will be by peaceful means and soon, or by horrors that history hath not yet written.”

Here is another sample:

A DISPASSIONATE STATEMENT

"The political bureau maintained by the Southern Pacific Railroad is an expensive organization. Many thousands of dollars are required annually to support it.

"The railroad in times of financial distress stops construction work, lays off train crews, reduces the number of men employed in its shops, discharges clerks and retrenches in all other expenses, but it never disturbs its political bureau. The tremendous expense incurred by the railroad in governing California through officials it can control is borne cheerfully.

"Why is this?

"The answer is not far to seek.

"Because it pays.

"The Southern Pacific is not a philanthropic organization. It has no interest in political principles. It seeks to make and execute laws solely for the money to be derived therefrom.

"The Southern Pacific is in every fibre entirely selfish. It is the incarnate spirit of GREED.

"Through its political bureau the Southern Pacific has been able to control conventions and dictate nominations. With rare exceptions, it has controlled every Legislature and named most of the state officers for twenty-five years. During this time it has had uninterrupted control of the Railroad Commission and the State Board of Equalization.

"The State Railroad Commission, designed by the framers of the present constitution to play an important part in remedying railroad abuses and evils, it has rendered ineffectual and useless. With great powers provided in the constitution of 1879, it is a singular fact that no legislature since that time has ever enacted one single law calculated to give force and effect to the constitutional powers with which the commission is clothed.

"This useless commission has idly drawn salary from the people of the State without rendering any service in return, while the Southern Pacific has exacted unjust and unreasonable tribute from shippers and consumers, given rebates and granted secret rates to especially favored interests, fostered the strong and crushed the weak. By discrimination and unfair methods, which if not actually criminal, only escape being so classed because Southern Pacific-made legislators failed in their duty to the people who elected them, it has exploited

the public for its own base and selfish ends."

(I condense the remainder of the article.)

"The railroad commission adopted as its own the tariff schedule of the S. P. It did not even live up to that.

Ex-Governor Pardee is quoted as saying that the S. P. evaded its just share of taxation for 30 years.

It controlled the railway commission and the state board of equalization.

It named the governors and all other officers.

The S. P. works in and through the Republican Party solely because that is the dominant political party of the state. It has command of the Republican organization and directs the party machinery.

The issue involved in the contest is whether the people shall rule themselves or whether they will be ruled by the Southern Pacific."

Here is another literary gem:

"HOW ABOUT IT?

"1. In 1776-89, Tyranny of Kings--Dethroned.

"2. In 1861-65, Tyranny of Slaves -- Crushed forever.

"3. In 1908, Tyranny of Greed--How about it."

The above extracts are quoted from the literature of the Lincoln-Roosevelt "Good Government" revolt of 1908. They are illuminating, frank, brutally frank. It is Republican comment on Republican politics. The people believed all these charges of corruption and the Southern Pacific was driven out of politics and most of the citizens took a rest—a rest and a sleep. While they were sleeping the Southern Pacific came back.

THE THEFT OF A CITY STREET

On January 25, 1910, "Good Government" City Attorney Hewitt drafted a spurious ordinance, No. 19596, to vacate, close up and abandon Allesandro street.

The purpose was to hand the street over to the Southern Pacific. Mr. F. E. Evans, a resident of the stolen street, wrote to Mayor Alexander and warned him of the steal.

On March 9 the Mayor wrote:

"April 18, 1910.

"Mr. F. E. Evans:

"Dear Sir—Yours of the 8th in regard to the condition of Allesandro street received and contents noted. At the present time the whole matter is in such shape that it is but a question of a very short time before it will be settled and the status of the property owners established. Respectfully yours,

"GEORGE ALEXANDER, Mayor."

On March 8th, the very day that Evans wrote the Mayor, the city council passed, and on March 9 (the day he wrote Evans) the Mayor signed, the bill which gave that city street to the Southern Pacific. But Evans, like other citizens of Los Angeles, was oblivious of the fact; so, on March 30, he wrote again and on April 18 received this reply:

"March 18, 1910.

"Mr. F. E. Evans:

"Dear Sir—In reply to yours of March 30, 1910, I will say that when the final ordinance, vacating Allesandro street, between Sunset Boulevard and the Northern city limits, comes before me I will give the matter very careful consideration, and I thank you for calling my attention to the matter. Very truly yours,

"GEORGE ALEXANDER."

In this communication the word "Mayor" was omitted. This was a strange omission, but stranger than that was the fact that the ordinance utterly disappeared and was lost from March, 1910, until September, 1911. When found it was snugly stowed away in a pigeon hole in the Mayor's office.

In the recent election, George Alexander made pretense of answering some of our charges of connivance, incompetency and conspiracy, but on the Allesandro street steal he was as silent as the grave!

We never charged Alexander with being a grafter. We charged him with capitulation to the Southern Pacific and we proved our case! The Mayor of Los Angeles is an uneducated man—a politician of the commonest type; without vision, plan or program—a pliant tool in the hands of crafty men.

But that cannot be said of United States Senator John D. Works. Works was president of the city council when the council gave away the street. Evans wrote to Works and received this reply:

"April 21, 1910.

"My Dear Mr. Evans—I was away when your favor of the 30th ultimo was written, and have just returned within the last two or three days.

"I did not know that I had taken action upon ordinance No. 19596 favorable to the Southern Pacific Company, as indicated in your letter.

"I do not know just what the tenor of the ordinance was, having no recollection about it whatever, although I felt that I was pretty careful in trying to avoid the getting through of ordinances that were favorable to the corporations and unjust to the people for the short time I was in the city council.

"If you are right in your estimate of the effect of the ordinance, I hope it is not too late to correct it. As I am now out of the council, however, I cannot do anything on my own part. Very truly yours,

"JOHN D. WORKS."

John D. Works is about as fine a type of citizen as the status quo affords. But here he was asleep like all the rest of them. Thus it is, thus it has ever been, nobody means to be negligent—nobody means to be criminal; but between the comfortable, inefficient, stupid officeholder and the ordinary crook the working class is degraded into serfdom; and John D. Works in the United States Senate is the John D. Works of the Los Angeles City Council!

ISSUES OF THE CAMPAIGN

Municipal Platform Socialist Party of Los Angeles

Adopted by the Convention Held at Labor Temple, Los Angeles, Cal.,
August 6, 1911

Los Angeles Socialists, in convention assembled, proclaim their allegiance to the progressive and constructive policies and principles of the Socialist Party of America, and the International and worldwide Socialist movement for the betterment of all mankind.

We declare that under the present unjust system of inequality and economic absolutism the worker is by fraud and by force deprived of the oft asserted right of life, liberty and the pursuit of hap-

piness and that until he receives the full product of his industry those rights will hold in theory only and to the working class have no existence in fact.

With the authors of the Declaration of Independence we hold that the machinery of government should be owned and controlled by the whole people. Furthermore, in the light of our industrial development—we hold that the machinery of production, distribution, communication and exchange should likewise be owned collectively and administered democratically by the people.

In Condition of Slavery—By reduction of wages and attempts at reduction, extensions of hours of labor, the short-sighted exploiters have sought to place the workers in a condition of abject slavery. By controlling transportation rates and prices of products they have reduced the small business men into mere agents, who bear great responsibilities without adequate compensation, and placed them in a position of hopeless dependence upon their masters, the trust organizers.

The natural resources, forces of nature and human labor power are wasted that plutocracy may rule.

The achievements of science and invention are diverted from their beneficent purpose to the enslavement of the race.

Through the influence of a venal and debauched press, truth is suppressed and the people are misinformed, while the forging of the chains of their enslavement goes on.

Home Is Invaded—Through the baleful effects of capitalism the chastity of woman and the sanctity of the home are invaded. Capitalism makes woman a chattel and her chastity a purchasable commodity, at the altar as well as in the brothel—an organized system of brigandage, a traffic in girls, kidnaped and enslaved for profit is the natural sequel.

The courts, the city council, the executive officers are in the hands of the exploiters and all the powers of government are used by them in their own interests and against the interests of the people.

The Socialist program comprehends the ultimate overthrow of the capitalist system of exploitation and plunder with its concomitant train of vice and debauchery, and the substitution therefor of the co-operative commonwealth.

This is our objective. We will never cease our agitation and organization until the goal is reached. In the meantime we will strive for every immediate interest of the working class.

Our Water Supply—We favor the hastening the work of completing the Owens River Aqueduct, for which the people of Los Angeles have devoted \$23,000,000 under the belief that the water and the electric energy to be derived therefrom was to be delivered to the people, and used for their benefit.

We demand that this electric power be held by the people to their use and not delivered now or at any time in the future to any corporation of avaricious and exploiting capitalists.

We pledge ourselves to take immediate steps towards bringing the Owens river water to Los Angeles. We view with utmost abhorrence plans which have been secretly carried out for years and which, if allowed to be consummated, would result in flowing the waters of the aqueduct upon lands owned and held by some of the most infamous exploiters of land and labor in America.

We condemn the present city administration for permitting and causing the workers on the aqueduct to be fed upon and forced to eat a short allowance of spoiled and unhealthful food in order to increase the profit of private contractors, and we pledge ourselves to remedy this evil if placed in power.

The Harbor—We pledge ourselves to continuous effort to complete the deep water harbor at Wilmington and San Pedro; and to the construction and municipal ownership of docks, wharves, warehouses and other establishments necessary for the handling and controlling of commerce.

We pledge ourselves to make every effort to give the harbor district a municipal passenger ferry system with boats constructed in a manner to be suitable for the transportation of horses and vehicles of every kind.

We favor the immediate construction of a suitable landing of modern and adequate design to be placed at First street, San Pedro.

We pledge ourselves to exert every effort towards the improvement of the water system of San Pedro district, especially such as shall facilitate the distribution of water to families.

We will further do all in our power to abolish the long distance telephone charges between San Pedro district and other parts of the City of Los Angeles.

We advocate the immediate establishment of an emergency hospital at San Pedro.

Our Cement Plant—We favor the retention and municipal ownership of the cement plant which is now supplying cement for the con-

struction of the Owens river aqueduct in order that it may be of further use for the benefit of the people, and that the street paving and cement work of the city be done by the municipality as far as practicable.

Taxation—We advocate a system of graduated taxation which will remove the burden from the home and place it, where it properly belongs, upon the land held in anticipation of unearned increment by land sharks and speculators.

Extension of Water System—We favor the immediate extension of municipal ownership of the water system, so it shall apply to Hollywood, Colegrove, Wilshire district, San Pedro, Wilmington and all other portions of the municipality in order that the people may be immediately relieved from further exploitation by the robber corporations.

This especially to apply to the Union Hollywood Water Company, which is charging the people an exorbitant rate for a slimy ooze that stagnates in the rusty pipe of this archaic system.

Ownership of All Utilities—We advocate ownership by the municipality of all plants and establishments which furnish to the people gas, electric power and other necessities, including an ice manufactory and laundry, all of which shall be operated for the benefit of the people and not for profit.

Telephones—We favor the municipal ownership of a single telephone system which will relieve the people of the exploitation of two privately owned and miserably inadequate systems.

Municipal Farm—We favor the establishment of a municipal farm and septic tank so situated that advantage may be taken of the overflow water which now constitutes an economic waste.

Cold Storage and Markets—We favor the establishment of municipal cold storage warehouses and free public markets.

Parks—We favor the extension of our park and playground systems, completing and beautifying the parks now owned by the city and demand better transportation arrangements and methods of seating and other arrangements, including comfort stations and other conveniences for the public.

Railways—We favor immediate action for the establishment of a municipally owned railway for the transportation of passengers and freight between San Pedro and Los Angeles. We especially advocate a railway line that will be of service to the people and commodious cars and extensive transfer, to be operated at a rate estab-

lished for maintenance of system and the general good of the people rather than a system to be maintained for earning dividends.

We also earnestly advocate immediate steps being taken toward the establishment of a municipally owned railway between Los Angeles and Santa Monica Bay shore. While this railway should handle both freight and passengers, it is primarily our intention to establish a system where the people can reach the seashore on a carfare readily within the reach of all.

We condemn the action of the street railway company for its failure to build the much needed cross town lines on Vernon and Jefferson avenues with free transfers to all parts of the city. We call the attention of the voters to the failure of the present city government in not taking action to cause or compel the construction of such cross lines by the railway company as promised or by the city itself. If placed in control we pledge the people that the cross town lines will be built by the city in connection with city roads to the harbor and seashore unless the same is already constructed by the private railway company.

Municipal Newspaper—We heartily approve of the recently adopted charter amendment authorizing the city to publish a municipal newspaper. The exclusive control by a few rich men of the great avenue of publicity through privately owned newspapers is a great danger to a democracy. We should have one avenue of publicity controlled by the people, and we urge the establishment of a municipal newspaper protected by proper safeguards from becoming a mere administration organ, and in which paper adequate provision shall be made by which the various political organizations in this city representing three per cent or more of the voters may present to the public in their own way their views on public matters.

Equal Suffrage—The enfranchisement of woman has always been an insistent demand of the Socialist. This party was an active factor in securing the submission of Amendment No. 8 and for its success the full party organization is constantly enlisted. We ask women to remember when they cast their ballot that women had equal part with men in selecting the Socialist ticket, preparing its platform and have always had full power in party management, not only in California but everywhere in the world-wide organization.

Schools—Realizing that good work cannot be done in overcrowded school rooms, we favor smaller classes, the extension of the open-air school and a reduction of the number of subjects now included in the

curriculum of the grades. We also propose that all school buildings henceforth erected be absolutely fireproof; the enlargement of school grounds and their free and unrestricted use as social centers.

Business Centers—We favor a rearrangement of the business center of the city, conserving the interests of the consumer and neutralizing the power of Big Business to demand railway toll and by false and alluring advertisements to control the bulk of the business. It will likewise expedite the distribution of freight by night and thus conserve our streets, keeping them free for other business.

Social Centers—We favor the establishment of social centers at school houses and other suitable places, along the plan adopted and successfully carried out in Milwaukee. Especially would we apply this to the harbor districts, where an effort should be made to extend this institution. This plan should contemplate musical entertainment and band concerts in the parks at a municipally owned resort at Terminal Island.

Free Public Baths—We advocate the establishment of free public baths, both in the city proper and at the seashore points, with open air plunges in various sections of the city. The system used by Boston should be investigated and, if practicable, adopted in Los Angeles.

Civil Service—We severely condemn the way in which the Civil Service has been abused in Los Angeles and we pledge ourselves to place that important branch of municipal government on a basis where honesty will prevail and merit will be the only thing considered in all applicants for office.

Free Speech—We favor an honest, fair administration of the city government which shall promote free speech, the right of public assembly and justice.

We condemn with utmost vehemence an administration which passed the infamous anti-picket ordinance and the Mayor who hastened to sign it. We keenly realize that the measure aimed solely at the working class, as over four hundred of our comrades have been arrested and imprisoned under the operation of this law, despite the fact that only a bare half dozen convictions were obtained, showing conclusively that the measure was designed to persecute and harass the working class.

This was proven when a newspaper publisher recently raised his voice in loud protest because the "Newspaper Trust" was picketing and boycotting against the interests of his own capitalistic sheet, but

refused to invoke the anti-picket ordinance, though the City Prosecutor's office was at his command.

We pledge ourselves, if elected, immediately to repeal this oppressive ordinance which has been invoked against the working class and ignored in the case of capitalistic offenders.

Home Rule—We place our approval on and express our satisfaction at the measure of success obtained in getting home rule for municipalities. The Socialist Party has struggled for this for twenty years and divides none of the honors of achievement with those who are now posing as originators of the idea.

Public Library and Forum—We deeply deplore the chaotic condition of our so-called public library, which is treated as a commercialized institution, and installed in the midst of the junk characteristic of the modern department store. We advocate erecting a new building on a suitable site for the use of the public as a library and a free forum.

City Hospital—We call attention to the deplorable fact that Los Angeles is the only municipality of importance in the United States that does not maintain a city hospital. The mass of the people are denied the blessing of such institutions because of the exorbitant rate and merciless exploitation in the privately owned hospitals, where suffering and misfortune is coined into dollars for further enrichment of capitalists.

Abolish Chain Gang—We look with abhorrence upon the spectacle of a modern city in an alleged civilized age which maintains a barbarous chain gang, a relic of medieval period long ago abandoned by progressive communities of America. We promise to exert every effort to abolish this hideous institution.

Free Employment Bureau—We favor the establishment of a free employment bureau to be operated by the municipality with the end in view of eliminating the harpies who now, by methods of extortion, misrepresentation and cheating the disemployed, bring untold suffering to those upon whom a great burden has already been cast.

Trust Taxes People—We emphatically protest against subjecting our citizens to the humiliating performance of paying taxes directly to the asphalt paving trust. We look upon this arrangement as a concession on the part of the present administration, that the greedy and overbearing monopoly has been given a strangle hold on the people of this municipality.

Tax Inspector Nuisance—In view of the large number of offices that have been created for the purpose of paying political debts, we advocate the abolition of many of the positions as inspectors. The license fee and inspector system has been carried to a point where it is a nuisance and a burden on the people. An extension of the present regime threatens meters on our breathing apparatus and salaried inspectors to read them.

Enforce Eight-Hour Law—We favor the abolition of the contract system on public work, which will carry with it a better wage to the workers, and we call attention to the fact contractors are breaking the law, in that employes are forced to work longer than the legal eight hours.

Neglect of Streets—We call attention to the present neglect of streets in the poorer section of the city to the advantage of the wealthy class, and we advocate a more equal distribution of funds and labor in this matter.

Solve Housing Problem—We believe Los Angeles people have reached no satisfactory understanding of the housing problem, and we favor an appropriation for a commission which shall investigate conditions in Milwaukee and other progressive municipalities and present practical plans that will aid in solving this important problem.

Disposing of Garbage—We condemn the present wasteful, incompetent and inefficient methods of handling and disposing of garbage. We favor the adoption of the latest scientific machinery for the use of the municipality in solving the problem of disposition of garbage.

Hold the Riverbed—We favor the retention of Los Angeles River bed for the ultimate use of the people as a possible solution of future transportation problems.

THE AQUEDUCT CONSPIRACY

THE PLOT

1903—Big Business, realizing the wonderful possibilities of profit to be made in exploiting land and water in the vicinity of Los Angeles, conceives a gigantic plan, and starts to carry it out, with official aid. This plan involved the gobbling up of all available lands in and near San Fernando valley (about 100,000 acres); the securing of the Owens River water to irrigate these lands, by first creating a fake water

famine and frightening the people into building an aqueduct, ostensibly to increase the city's water supply, but in reality to irrigate these lands, thereby putting about \$50,000,000 profit into the corporation's pockets, while the city gets none of the aqueduct water. L. C. Brand, agent for the interests, secures options on large holdings in San Fernando valley; Fred Eaton goes to Owens Valley and buys water rights; and Mulholland prepares the minds of the people with his reports of a "water shortage," when there is an abundance of water.

1904—The San Fernando Mission Land Co. incorporated December 2. Fictitious "water famine" created. Suit instituted to enjoin small ranchers in San Fernando Valley from pumping or using water. Van Nuys, Lankershim and other big ranchers not made parties to the suit. Decision was not pressed for reasons to which we shall refer later.

1906—The city officials pay ex-Mayor Fred Eaton \$450,000 for his Owens Valley options. City acquires only 11,000 inches of water in Owens valley, but in 1911 it apportions 18,000 inches to the allied private interests in and near San Fernando valley.

1910—Construction rushed on aqueduct. Rotten concrete and other graft.

1911—City Council and Mayor Alexander stand sponsor for "joker" in amendment 191 to the city charter, taking away from the people the power to vote on the distributing of "surplus" aqueduct water. Also, by resolution, council declares all the aqueduct water to be "surplus," thus wresting from the people the benefits to accrue from the aqueduct. (Those privileges once alienated, can never be taken back by the people). "Jokers" are put in amendment 192 compelling the city to sell the aqueduct water at cost, and at no profit to the city.

Aqueduct water is impounded and immense dam built by city adjoining these lands of the Big Interests. Surveys are made and rights of way secured and accepted by the city and 10-foot pipes now being laid around the corporation's private lands in the San Fernando valley by the city for distributing the people's water. No provision made for bringing aqueduct water to Los Angeles.

CHARACTERS IN THE DRAMA

Harrison Gray Otis, owner of Los Angeles Times; E. T. Earl, owner of Los Angeles Tribune and Express; L. C. Brand, Los Angeles Times stockholder; J. E. Sartori, president Security Savings bank; W. C.

Kerckhoff, president Pacific Light and Power Co., Henry E. Huntington, president Southern Pacific R. R. Co.; J. B. Lippincott, engineer; Wm. Mulholland, aqueduct engineer; Leslie R. Hewitt, city attorney; Fred Eaton, consulting city engineer; Mayor Alexander and city council.

THE CHARGES

1. We charge that it is planned to use the surplus water from the aqueduct (and most, if not all of it will be "surplus" for years to come) to enhance the value of the holdings of the San Fernando Mission Land Co., the Lankershim Development Co., and other big corporations.

That it is planned to divert practically all the aqueduct water for the benefit of these big realty companies doing business in the San Fernando valley is shown by documentary evidence below.

In their "Report Upon the Distribution of the Surplus Water of the Los Angeles Aqueduct," the advisory engineers of 1911 claim that the aqueduct has a capacity per day of 400 cubic feet per second or 20,000 miner's inches constant flow. (See page 4.) Their superiors in office never claimed that the city owns over 11,000 miner's inches in the Owens River valley.

Nevertheless, in the above official report for 1911, page 9, the advisory engineers have drawn up and recommended a plan whereby 12,142 miner's inches (157,000,000 gallons daily flow) be allotted for irrigation in the San Fernando valley, and but 5,858 miner's inches be allotted elsewhere; 4,000 of which is to go to the Cahuenga valley, leaving only 1,858 inches for Pasadena and contiguous territory. This means that more water is to be distributed on the San Fernando valley lands alone than the city probably has available in the Owens River valley!

2. We charge that the "joker" in the second half of section 191 of the amendment to the city charter gives the city officials the power to dispose of "surplus" water for irrigation purposes, outside the city.

Section 191 of the city charter has this provision: "No other water or water right, now or hereafter owned or controlled by the city * * * shall ever be sold, transferred, leased or disposed of, in whole or in part, without the assent of two-thirds of the qualified voters of said city; * * * provided, however, that nothing in this section shall be construed * * * to prevent the sale or the supplying or distribution by the city of the surplus water or surplus power

* * * to consumers and users outside of the city." (See charter amendment adopted March 25, 1911.)

Mayor Alexander, Lewis R. Works and E. T. Earl's personal organ, the Tribune, have persisted in saying that "not a drop of aqueduct water can be alienated by the city except by a two-thirds vote of the people."

Recently Lewis R. Works conceded that the city could sell its water without a vote of the people. Public service commission in the Times, November 19, 1911, states: "Whatever conclusions may be reached by the board they must be submitted to the vote of the people." They know this to be untrue!

This is wholly beside the facts in the case. As we have shown, there is a "joker" in section 191 which specifically provides that the surplus water is exempt from the clause that calls for a two-thirds vote of the people.

4. We charge that by the provisions of Sec. 192, Charter Amendments, the Public Service Commission is compelled to supply users outside the city with the aqueduct water at cost; so that the city will not receive a dollar of profit from the sales of the Owens River aqueduct water for irrigation.

Sec. 192 Charter Amendments, compels the Public Service Commission to "fix the rates" * * * "to control and order the expenditures of all moneys received for the sale or use of water" and that "all such moneys shall be deposited in the treasury of the city to the credit of * * * the water revenue fund."

And that said fund cannot be used for any other purpose than the establishment, maintenance and conducting of the water works.

5. We charge that for years officials have falsely represented the amount of water consumed in the city; that they have artificially diminished the water supply; that they have misrepresented the saving of water with meters, and that they have withheld water from the people.

The three engineers, Mulholland, Lippincott and Parker, in the Fourth Annual Report to the Board of Water Commissioners, page 32, state: "The average rainfall in the mountain portion of the basin of the Los Angeles River is believed to be in the neighborhood of 30 inches. The rainfall of the valley for the last 25 years is slightly less than 16 inches."

The mountain area contains 326 square miles, and the valley 176 square miles. By computation it will be seen that a 30-inch rainfall

would make of the mountain area an amount of water equivalent to 36,000 miner's inches constant flow, while the valley with 176 square miles, on a basis of 15½ inches of rainfall, would make 10,000 miner's inches constant flow, or an average annual total for the entire drainage shed of 46,000 miner's inches constant flow.

Again, Mulholland states in his first annual report, page 19, that the San Fernando gravel deposit furnishes "Such a large capacity of storage that if all the water contained therein at any one time were suddenly lifted into the clouds and released in the form of rain in the area of watershed on which it originally fell, it would equal in an amount of precipitation that of the rainfall of possibly 10 years combined."

Some years ago at a meeting of the National Foresters' Association held in Los Angeles, an expert, W. C. Mendenhall, of the U. S. Geological Survey, declared that "if no rain fell for seven years the San Fernando gravel beds would continue to furnish water necessary for Los Angeles."—Out West Magazine, October, 1905.

In the case of Los Angeles vs. Hunter, 156 Cal. 607, the supreme court stated: "The San Fernando valley may indeed be regarded as a great lake."

Lippincott says in the transcript of the case generally known as Los Angeles City vs. San Fernando Ranchers, that "about one-third of the debris, etc., filling this vast basin is water."

These officials declare that the annual rainfall (46,000 miner's inches) feeding our present source of supply is practically all conserved for use in the deep gravel-filled basin of the San Fernando valley.

This yearly rainfall stored therein is nearly double the amount (23,209 inches) used yearly by New York City. It is more than double the amount proposed to be brought from the Owens River.

It is clearly evident from these statements of engineers and others that there is constantly in the San Fernando basin at all times ample water to not only supply the needs of the city now, but for many years to come. Otis, Earl, Huntington, et al. had reasons for not wishing this reservoir tapped. At a small expense to the city, water sufficient could be secured from the Los Angeles watershed to supply a city of double its present population.

6. We charge that a fake water famine was precipitated in the years 1904-5 in order to frighten the people into voting the Owens River aqueduct bonds.

For several years following the securing of options by the allied big "interests" on the San Fernando lands, a campaign of misrepresentation was carried on to convince the people that the water supply was short and that they needed larger sources of supply. This culminated in a "water famine" in the years 1904-5. Streets were not sprinkled, outlying sewers were not flushed, resulting in a foul, disease-breeding condition; lawns and gardens withered and died. The fish in the park lakes died and rotted.

Mulholland (see Report 1904, page 23) claimed that "there was no water to spare to put in park lakes;" that "probably there would be none in the future," and that "earnest and immediate steps are necessary to procure additional water."

That this "water famine" was a fake is shown by these facts: Back in 1896 the engineers gave the per capita consumption as only 133 gallons. The consumers then had all the water they needed, but we are told that eight years later (1904), 223 gallons were not nearly enough for each person. In 1904 Mr. Mulholland claimed that we were consuming 39,276,000 gallons (245 gallons per capita) per day, while he claims that the supply was "only" 35,000,000 gallons or 223 gallons for every man, woman and child in the city!

Four years later (1908), when the city had an abundance of water, freely used, consumption was reported by Mulholland to be only 110 gallons per capita (see report 1908, page 9).

Query: If 110 gallons per capita was enough in 1908, how could there be a water famine in 1904, when the people were supplied with more than twice as much, or 223 gallons, per capita?

Answer: They never got 223 gallons per capita in 1904, nor half of it! Yet according to Mr. Mulholland there was that amount in the reservoirs for them!

7. We charge that this scheme has been so far carried out that an immense dam is in course of construction; that huge 10-foot distributing pipes are already on the ground; that right-of-way has been surveyed and accepted by Alexander's officials to lay these pipes for the whole valley. This is going on while at the same time the Good Government party and its allies, the newspapers, are loudly crying that none of the water can be disposed of without a two-thirds vote of the people!

The Lankershim Development Co., owners of the Van Nuys and Lankershim lands, with L. C. Brand, H. G. Otis, M. H. Sherman, Harry

Chandler, et al., as promoters, in their prospectus advertising these lands, say:

"There will be created a great reservoir for the storage of the pure fluid coming down from the base of the snow-capped Sierras, the reservoir already having been selected in the foothills hard by the tract of land here described, and to reach the city the Owens River water must traverse the San Fernando valley. Purchasers of land here will share equitably in the primary right that will undoubtedly be accorded to the residents of the San Fernando valley to be the first consumers beyond the city limits to share in the surplus water that will be brought down by the great aqueduct. They will thus enjoy greater advantages than can come to any other section, being such special advantages as may result from contiguity."

It is reasonable to suppose that this company has gone ahead and laid out its tract at a large expense, specifically promising purchasers that they will be supplied with Owens River water, if no water can be sold to them except by a two-thirds vote of the people?

No, these people are sure of getting their water. These loopholes have been left in the city charter to conserve their interests. The public service commission can sell surplus water or power for personal use to parties outside of the city.

Mr. Alexander, is it not a fact that secret plans for handing the aqueduct water over to the land barons, were proposed and agreed on by your officials in April, 1911, at a private luncheon given by Fred Boruff, at the ranch-house of the Mission Land Co.? Is it not a fact that at this gathering there were present John Wilson and others representing Otis, Earl and the Southern Pacific interests, Chas. Towle of the Security Bank, the five engineers, Mulholland, Lippincott, Hamlin, Quintin and Code, Public Service Commissioners H. T. Lee and Gen. Matthews, and all the members of your Board of Public Works—Chaffee, Hubbard and Humphreys, John Burr, Hubbard and Wright and other big land corporation representatives?

Did not your engineers and other officials then and there make a tentative agreement with the San Fernando land owners to allot aqueduct water to the big ranchers. Did not these big ranchers say then: "We know now for the first time how we can get the aqueduct water?"

One of the great points in this aqueduct grab is the suit to quiet title instituted by Leslie Hewitt, which forced the small ranchers to sell their ranches at a sacrifice.

Big Business, taking advantage of this, bought up large holdings

at an average of \$33 per acre. As a result of the prospects of securing the Owens River water they are now selling said land at \$50 to \$1,000 per acre.

WHAT IT ALL MEANS

To sum up: We have shown a long-continued and deep laid plan on the part of the powerful corporate interests leading up to securing and perpetually holding the Owens River water.

We have shown that the present Good (?) Government administration has made it possible for these people to secure the coveted "surplus" water which they have been reaching for so long, without any vote of the people; and that all the aqueduct water is declared by Alexander and his council to be "surplus."

We have shown that the amendments to the city charter have been so adroitly worded as to compel the Public Service Commission, in disposing of the aqueduct water, to users outside the city, to do it without a dollar of profit to the people.

Mayor Alexander has shown his unfitness for the important office of mayor. He either knew or he did not know that the city charter permitted the city officials to dispose of "surplus" water without two-thirds vote of the people, and that it is all "surplus water."

If he did know and yet kept silent he is culpable. In either event Alexander and the city council have shown themselves unfit for the positions which they now hold.

Otis was in on the grab from the start. He is in now.

The Times helped to create the fake water famine. Then it talked incessantly about the aqueduct bringing the water to Los Angeles. The people believed Otis. They did not know that all the time he was using his paper and patriotism (?) for selfish ends. They know now. The Socialists told them.

THE HARBOR STEAL

Next to the honor of driving the Southern Pacific Railway from political power the "Goo Goo" party places the honor (?) of Harbor Improvement at San Pedro—the alleged harbor of Los Angeles. A look at the accompanying map will show just how much of a harbor the city possesses.

The map shows the outer and inner harbor. The shaded sections show exactly the water front and wharfage areas now absolutely

owned and controlled by the city. All the remainder, as will be shown in detail, is in the possession and present control of Southern Pacific Railroad Co., the Union Oil Co., the Pacific Wharf and Storage Co. and the Salt Lake Railroad Co.

LOOK AT THE MAP

The city of Los Angeles has law suits in more or less state of progress to recover the tidelands, suits that will require years of proceedings before the title is finally settled. There is no assurance that the city will ever be able to recover these tidelands, or that the grip of private interests will ever be shaken off in their hold on almost the entire inner harbor and nearly half of the wharfage front of the outer harbor.

Look at the map again and note how little, relatively, the city can call its own and upon which it can expend the millions which the Big Business interests say the city will not be able to borrow if the Socialists win.

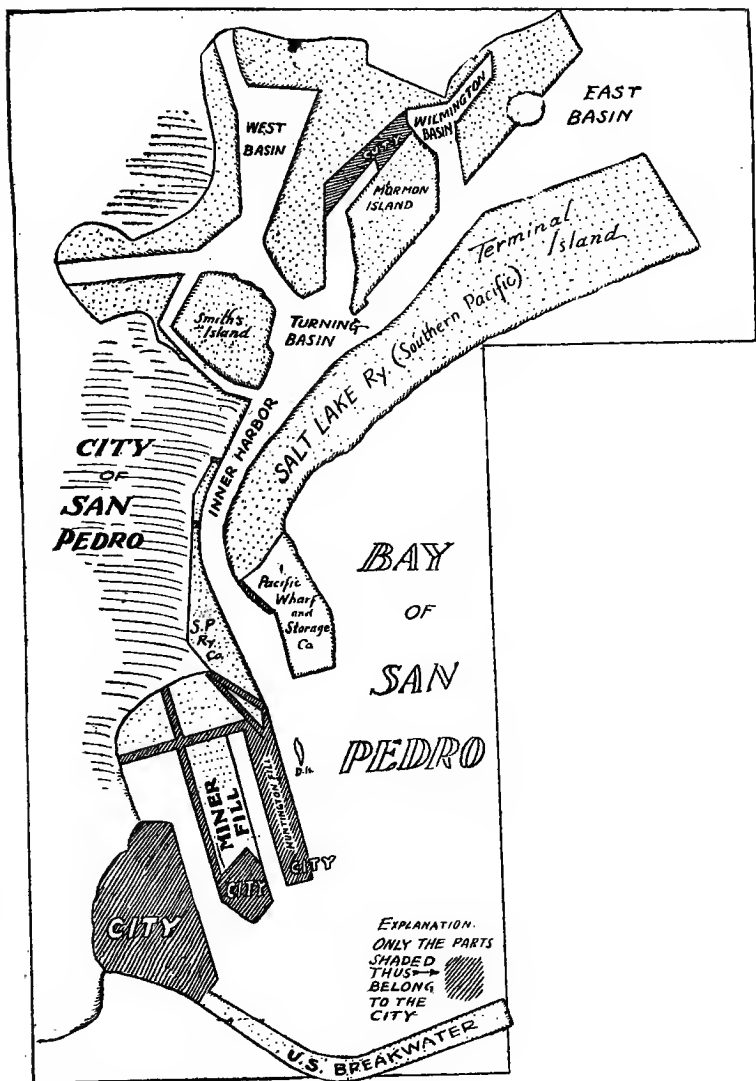
The government has been spending much money and effort on and in the channels, the immediate and probable permanent value of which will attach itself to the wharf frontage now held and controlled by Big Business.

BIG BUSINESS IN CONTROL

There is not a foot of the city's wharf frontage that you can walk or drive to without crossing private property?

Big Business has almost completely secured control of both the outer and inner harbor.

Is it necessary to point out that the Harriman estate—the estate of the late E. H. Harriman, under whose name the Southern Pacific system is familiarly known, “the Harriman lines”—is one of the big stockholders in that old original San Fernando Mission Land Co., and that the Harriman estate is represented on the directorate of that land company today? Are you aware that Edwin T. Earl, also now on the directorate of that land company, is the largest stockholder in and is generally understood to control the ninety million corporation known as the Union Oil Co., and that the Union Oil Co. now controls what is called the Miner fill in the harbor? Are you aware that the Salt Lake Railroad Co. is controlled by the Southern Pacific? Are you aware that the large harbor holdings of the Pacific Wharf and



Storage Co. are controlled by men who are associates of Edwin T. Earl, the Southern Pacific and others who constitute Big Business in Los Angeles?

These men who, by newspapers in sympathy with Big Business, can fill your imagination with all sorts of brilliant pictures of the future prosperity of Los Angeles when the Panama canal is completed and Los Angeles has its harbor improved sufficiently to take care of the opportunity to increase its shipping trade—they can do all this and have the people pay fat salaries to their henchmen in pushing the harbor improvement, but they cannot get away from the FACT that they (these very same men), representing themselves and Big Business generally, have practically absolute entire control of the inner harbor and about one-half of the outer harbor.

SOUTHERN PACIFIC CLINCHES CONTROL

The Southern Pacific Railroad Co. has been long at work and is now at work gridironing the water frontage of the harbor so that it will control the shipping to and from the harbor.

Do you know that the terminal opportunities of the Harbor Railway, which is the subject of many other boasts of the Big Interests in this campaign—that these terminal opportunities are cut off by the Southern Pacific, and if the city and its business men want to gain full benefit of the use of the Harbor Railway, they will have to pay tribute to the Southern Pacific in order to participate in the handling of the shipping that goes to the Southern Pacific and other private wharves?

Voter, are you aware as a fact that even the route of the Harbor Railway has not yet been determined? That in addition to the routes that heretofore have received most favorable consideration, it has recently been discovered that another route will suit things better? Why this long continued uncertainty? What use will the city have for the money for this railroad, what need is there for making such an outcry about the sale of the bonds for this railway, when even the route has not been finally selected? There is not even the beginnings of a selection of a route through San Pedro to the largest area of the wharf frontage owned by Los Angeles, that on the west side of the outer harbor. How does any person expect that bonds can be sold for an improvement that is not yet formulated into a definite proposition

NUTSHELL VIEW OF HARBOR

Here is the harbor proposition which, after you take out of it the work that has been done by the United States government and is now being done by the government; after you take out the beautifully worded reports and promises and pictures and maps and the results of dredging in certain spots; after you take out the vast areas of harbor lands now under the control of private interests—here is the harbor proposition as it now stands in all its nakedness shown on this map?

There are two more topics about this great and needed harbor that are deserving of attention, and which will illuminate how the hands of Big Business have been playing the game right under the eyes of the people, which game has been kept under cover by Edwin T. Earl and H. G. Otis for the purposes of themselves and Big Business.

These are the Miner Fill and the prices paid for the dredging that has been done and is being done in the channels.

THE MINER FILL

Randolph P. Miner secured the original contract for making this fill, and the contract required that the work should be completed in five years from the commencement of the same (and the following is quoted from the contract itself) "unless interrupted by the elements, lawful authority or orders of court or such litigation as would make it impossible for the said party of the second part to continue the work of reclamation and building said sea wall herein proposed to be done." The government changed the harbor lines and this resulted in a year's extension of the time. Miner voluntarily abandoned the undertaking, but this abandonment was afterward patched up and the Union Oil Co. succeeded to Miner's rights and undertook and it is undertaking now to complete the work.

The five-year limit, plus the additional year allowed because of the change in the harbor lines, expired a few months ago. The work was not completed within the contract time. The Union Oil Co. got scared. Something must be done to secure what had been done. The proviso above quoted furnished the excuse. So that Earl, or the Union Oil Co., or some one who was able to accomplish the particular work for them, saw that if the city were to bring suit to recover the land within the Miner fill, it—the suit—would be a legal

interruption of the work, in a technical sense, and the forfeiture clause would become inoperative. So the Miner fill land was included in the tidelands suit. And the thing was done.

CONTRACT FORFEITED

Had not this suit been brought the contract would have been forfeited in the ordinary course of things, and there would have been no question about the city recovering the land, at least by the payment of what would have been considered a just return for the results that have been accomplished. The point to fix in your mind is that there would have and could have been no question that all rights of Miner and the Union Oil Co. under the contract would have come to an end and the title to the land would have gone back to the city. The bringing of the suit holds the whole thing up in the air and gives the Union Oil Co. time to get things into shape.

Now do you see why the Big Interests are working to get into office men who will not interfere with their plans?

THE DREDGING WORK

There are a few facts about the dredging that has been done in the inner and outer harbor that are very suggestive.

The contract for the government dredging in the turning basin provided only 8 cents a yard for the work. It is a notable fact that no provision was attempted by the city to utilize the dredgings from the turning basin for filling in any part of the city's wharfage, so the Pacific Wharf and Storage Co. was permitted to relay the dredgings and use them for filling in the land claimed by that company.

The contract of the Pacific Wharf and Storage Co. was allowed to charge 10 cents a yard for dredging the Wilmington basin. These dredgings were used to fill the city's property between Mormon island and the mainland. In this connection, it is interesting to note that two officials of the Pacific Co. made a wager that the cost of dredging the slip of that company on its land just above Deadman's island would cost only 5 cents.

The city of Los Angeles made a contract, now under way, to have what is known as the Mormon island channel dredged. It should be understood that this work will give a channel to the city's wharfage property across the head of this channel, and will at the same time practically be making a channel for the Southern Pacific Co.,

which controls Mormon island, for a distance of 7,000 feet. The contract price which the city is paying for this channel dredging is 21 1-2 cents. Remember the dredging of the Wilmington basin just immediately above cost only 10 cents.

WILMINGTON GRADE

Another feature of interest.

It was determined to raise the grade of a lot of property in Wilmington, and large damages were paid to the property owners. Then the city turns around and uses the dredgings, for which it pays 21 1-2 cents a yard, to fill up these same properties to the required grade. The property affected will, so men who know say, be worth two or three times as much after the work is done as it was before the grade was made. Pretty nice arrangement for the property owners. And then the 21 1-2 cents a yard. Big difference between that and the price the United States government paid for dredging the turning basin immediately below where this channel dredging is going on.

The work at the Miner fill, work that, because of rock and hard material, is considered twice as difficult as the Mormon channel dredging, is costing 20 cents a yard.

GRAND RESULTS

Here you have an account of the harbor and a picture showing the fact that only a small part of the harbor is owned by the city. You also have an account of the work that has been done both by the government and the city, and the prices that have been and are being paid.

What do you think of it?

What do you think of the city officials that have conducted the city's business so as to permit such results?

What do you think of the cry of Big Business that it must be permitted to have continued charge of the work?

Will you give them the chance?

UNJUST LICENSING AND TAX DODGING

WHO PAYS THE BILLS? THE DEADLY PARALLEL!

A Few Comparisons of Licenses as Collected by the "Good Government" Party

Taken From Report of City Clerk L. A. Handley to Mayor Alexander,
June 30, 1911

SELLERS

Retail liquors	\$242,800.00
Restaurant—Class 1	33,875.00
Restaurant—Class 2	24,360.00
Social clubs	4,200.00
Hotel liquor est.	23,500.00
Wholesale liquor	78,172.50
	<hr/>
	\$406,907.50

MANUFACTURERS

Winery	\$ 2,724.00
Brewery	3,600.00
	<hr/>
	\$ 6,324.00
Express wagons	\$ 22,384.20
Operating street cars	17,108.55
	<hr/>
In favor of express	\$ 5,275.65
Rubbish wagons	\$ 1,379.90
Telephone	1,275.50
	<hr/>
In favor of rubbish	\$ 104.40
Milk wagons	\$ 2,805.40
Banking	2,545.01
	<hr/>
In favor of milk	\$ 260.39

And the banker makes money with the use of the people's money and does not pay his share. The milk man does.

How would you like to be the milk man?

Manure wagon	\$ 434.10
Insurance broker	268.49

In favor of manure wagon\$ 165.61

Second-hand goods	\$ 9,940.20
Second-hand goods	No license
New furniture	No license
New clothing	No license
New hardware	No license
New jewelery	No license
Real estate	No license
Druggist	No license

Who pays the bill of this town?

If we had no second-hand men we would lose nearly \$10,000. Let him have the middle of the road; he pays for it, not Big Business.

Bankers	\$ 2,345.01
Lighting companies	6,004.86
Operating street cars	17,108.55
Telephones	1,275.50

\$ 26,733.92

Who said "a dog is a man's best friend?" Let them bark, boys, they pay more for the privilege than banks, street cars, telephone and lighting companies. When a street car runs over a dog, give it to them; they are hurting a tax payer that pays more than all the great companies in Los Angeles.

Dog license	\$ 27,247.00
Big Business in L. A.	26,733.92

In favor of dogs\$ 513.08

Fortune tellers	\$ 6,720.00
Hotel and lodging	7,723.33
Pawnbrokers	6,560.05
Lighting companies	6,004.86

Fortune tellers, hotels, rooming houses and pawnbrokers pay bigger license fees than all the gas and electric corporations.

Street car, per car	\$ 6.25 per quarter
Second-hand dealer	6.00 per quarter
Renting boats on ferry	15.00 per quarter
Auto to hire, garage	7.50 per quarter
Auto to hire from street.....	15.00 per quarter
Rubbish wagon	3.00 per quarter
Peddler toilet articles	10.00 per quarter

The poor blind peddler of pencils and pins pays more for his right than does the street car company to run its cars through the city.

Vegetable, laundry wagons and meat peddlers pay more than twice as much as do the street car company to run their cars.

Vegetable wagons	\$15.00 per quarter
Laundry wagons	15.00 per quarter
Meat peddler	15.00 per quarter
Peddlers of pencils	7.50 per quarter
Scissor grinder	6.00 per quarter

Banking, lighting, street car, telephone, money broking, brewery and storage companies pay license of \$40,532.34. Vegetable wagons pay \$40,564.50.

Vegetable wagon	\$ 40,564.50
Big Business	40,532.34

In favor of vegetables\$ 32.16

Scissors grinders are not much behind the car company.

Look at the difference between the street car company and the others.

To the Housewife: One reason for the high cost of living is, that the vegetable peddlers pay a license tax in excess of the combined taxes on public utilities, including banking, brewing and storage.

Charles M. Smith, for thirteen years a deputy assessor in Los Angeles, in a published statement gives a few items of tax dodging by the ultra respectables of this city.

The Union Oil Company, of which Mr. E. T. Earl is said to be the largest individual stockholder, was taxed by Mr. Smith as a property

of \$4,125,000, the tax on the same amounting to \$44,460. That was in 1907—just a year before Mr. Earl and others formed the Lincoln-Roosevelt League to purify politics. In 1908, when the reformers drove the grafters from office, Mr. Earl's company moved its offices into another county, where it was assessed on a property of \$500. The Union Oil Company saved \$260,000 by the move. What they saved, those who didn't move paid to the city.

Another choice item was the case of the J. D. Hooker estate, in which said estate paid taxes on \$260. Mr. Smith assessed the estate on a basis of \$327,570. Whether it was paid or not he does not say. Mrs. J. D. Hooker was a prominent worker for Alexander, and few of his lieutenants had a better reason for political ability. In February the Hooker heirs petitioned the courts to distribute \$2,000,000.

Smith uncovered in the last few years millions of untaxed property. He uncovered also hundreds of unmitigated tax liars—all of them patriotic and religious supporters of the "Good Government" under which they prospered. Smith's printed statement made it quite clear that an honest assessment on a 60 per cent basis would not only obviate the necessity of bonds but would furnish millions for city improvements. The result of his published figures left him without a job and still further entrenched the "Good Government" assessor, Mallard.

THE SOCIAL EVIL

The claim of the "Good Government" party that it had wiped out the social evil fooled more people than any other campaign lie of their inventing. A group of brothels on Alameda street was removed. That was all. The ministers were especially loud in their praise of the "clean city." It was the police force that informed the Socialist party of the moral rottenness in the very heart of Los Angeles! Two officers of the "Purity Squad" gave us the inside facts. From the police blotter of 1911 we got the names of over 2000 cases of arrests of prostitutes and brothel keepers and this in spite of the fact that in the business district the brothels were immune from police interference. When the preachers raised the cry of "clean city" and attributed the cleanness to Geo. Alexander, scores of people, men and women, came to our headquarters to give us the facts. First came policemen in plain clothes and later came both men and women who had been intimately familiar with the red light district. In this way we dis-

covered not only the immunity and methods of the ordinary brothel but several first class hotels with special elevators, special dining rooms and special apartments for this sort of business.

Among those indignant people came a workingman's wife who had been a servant in the homes of some of the richest people in the city. She had never lived in a house in which the master of the place did not make indecent proposals to her.

"Even now," she said, "when some of these men meet me in the street they continue their insults."

I looked incredulous.

"You don't believe me," she said.

"It seems incredible," I replied.

She became indignant and said hotly and in a tone of bitterness:

"Some of these men who are shouting the loudest about a 'clean city' are the most rotten men in it!"

Then she made a desperate proposal, a proposal I hesitated to consider, but she was determined. She mentioned the name of a prominent business man in whose home she had worked. He was, of course, a supporter of the alleged "Good Government" party, a married man with children and a member of a church—one of the eminently respectables. This woman went to the business man's office, made a date with him and gave me the details..

"That," she said, naming the place, "is supposed to be a hotel but this man laughed when I spoke of danger. It's a common brothel and people do not have even to register in it."

I stood on the opposite corner and I saw the unmitigated hypocrite and lecherous liar stand and wait for my informant. She came and they entered. The blood left my face. I felt as if I were half paralyzed. In less than five minutes she emerged.

"How did you escape?" I inquired.

"Oh, I know how to do that," she said. "The moment we entered the room I told him that I was going to vote for Harriman. 'What for?' he asked. 'Just to clean up this Sodom!' I replied. He swore and called Harriman the most shocking names and I ran out and left him there. But now you'll believe me. Now you know the sort of hypocrites we have who are howling for a 'clean city'" and with a look of grim triumph on her face she departed.

A police officer volunteered to testify on oath of the use of one of these larger houses by one of our most prominent opponents, but we passed it up. Our fight was a social fight, not a personal one. If a

man robbed himself of his own character it is his own affair. When he robbed the community of its character, that was another matter.

One of the tricks of the "Good Government" party in this domain was to send out a professional flirt—a handsome, well dressed young woman to inveigle men into a colloquy for which they were arrested and fined. This was done to blind the public and put the onus of the social evil on male shoulders. The blame may have belonged there, but that was the only cure they offered.

THE RIGHT OF UNIONS TO EXIST

The paramount issue of the campaign was the right of labor unions to exist. This had been granted in theory and denied in fact.

After the Times explosion it was impossible for a union man to secure a fair trial in any court. Capital became hysterical and in its thirst for vengeance railroaded innocent men to jail. Unions doubled their membership and by functioning on the political field through the Socialist party became at once a factor to be reckoned with.

THE LARGER ISSUE

The Socialists pointed out clearly in the campaign that the local issues were small and insignificant compared to the larger and more revolutionary issues of a new social order. We declared ourselves in perfect accord with international Socialism and the world-wide passion for social regeneration. Our opponents made futile attempts to force upon us a discussion of abstract far-off theories. For the purpose of the campaign, however, we pinned them to local issues and held them there. We put them on the defensive and kept them explaining, until the votes were counted.

THE POVERTY-STRICKEN CITY

We pointed out the fact that despite the most beautiful natural scenery and a climate unmatched in the world that there wasn't on the American continent a more poverty-stricken city with regard to public buildings. A public library in a corner of a department store; a city hall that looks like frozen ragtime; a federal postoffice placed in the slums to boom real estate; a hall of records that looks like a Mormon temple; ugly school houses and hideously ugly churches.

We drew a contrast between those things and the palace of H. E. Huntington—a thing like the Taj Mahal or the Alhambra. We pointed

out that it did not seem inconsistent to a leader in religion to pay his department store girls starvation wages and buy \$5000 poodle dogs with the money they coined for him.

We took note that ten thousand women in their clubs and pink teas had gushed and twaddled over city affairs for years with about as much effectiveness for improvement as the ravings of Otis in the Times.

CAMPAIGN LITERATURE

For the local issues we published a weekly paper called "The Coming Victory." It contained from week to week the charges we made against the administration.

It was our method of programming the speakers. The little paper contained data that every speaker was obliged to use. The information came to us from public officials. We could not use their names, for that would have meant their immediate discharge.

Over 2,000,000 copies of this paper were circulated..

A special feature of every Socialist meeting in the campaign was the sale of Socialist literature. So great was the demand that in addition to our book department of the city and county we had to put out two book stands on the street. They are still there doing business.

Occasionally we departed from the cold facts and embarked upon suggestive satire as the following number of "The Coming Victory" will show:

LOS ANGELES, THE HOLY CITY

CHAPTER I.

1. And it came to pass in the II Decade of the XX Century that the city was in the hands of Alexander, high priest of the "Interests," and the priestlets of the Goo Goo tribe.

2. And the people cried with a loud voice for relief, but the ears of the priests were stopped.

3. And a leader of the people arose and petitioned the hirelings for relief, but no relief came.

4. And the leader opened his mouth and cried with a loud voice: Ye whited sepulchres, ye promised in return for office and a money consideration to give us relief from all our ills and ye did it not.

5. Behold we asked for the bread of reform and ye gave us the stone of betrayal.

6. In tears we pleaded for freedom and ye handed us over bound hand and foot to Hunting, the son of Ton, and Ot, the son of Is.

7. Ye permitted scribes, pharisees and hypocrites to preempt the valleys and the mountains and the waters thereof, while the people had not where to lay their heads—much less the pasture to feed their flocks.

8. Ye deprived the laborer of his hire and his children of food while the poodle dogs of the rich were arrayed in purple and fine linen and rode in horseless carriages.

9. Ye gave the rich palatial homes, while the workers lived in shacks not fit for cattle.

10. Ye corrupted the judge on his bench, the juryman in his box and the policeman on his beat, so that the laborer could not peaceably walk the streets of his own city.

11. Behold to the money mongers and dealers in human flesh and endurance ye have bartered for a mess of pottage the rights of the people.

12. Tyrants of old whipped us with whips but ye have whipped us with scorpions.—

13. Our city is architecturally drunk; our slums and the denizens thereof rot and fester with a grievous plague of dirt, debauchery and destitution.

14. Our streets are glutted with congested traffic until the people are incensed to blaspheme God!

15. Behold the rich become richer and the poor poorer until one man hath enough in store for a thousand years while his brother becometh a convict for a loaf of bread.

16. Ye sing the psalms of David on the Sabbath and on Monday in the Exchanges rob each other even of eye teeth.

17. Ye have made even the House of God a den of usurers—on Sunday ye sing of heaven and on Monday chant a Te Diabolus of hell.

17. Now, therefore, know ye, O Alexander, and ye Goo Goos of Philistia that on the wall of the City Assembly God hath written with His own finger, Mene, Mene Tekel, Upharasin. Thou hast been weighed in the balance and found wanting.

CHAPTER II.

1. And it came to pass in these days of chaos and money madness that Jehovah raised up a leader of the people, Harri, son of Man.

2. And the people loved the leader and called him Job; for they

said, Doth he not embody and express the patience of a thousand years?

3. And Job assembled the people together in the City of the Angels and said, God hath heard your groans and beheld your tears.

4. And the people cried with a loud voice and said, What shall we do to take the tyrants off our overburdened backs?

5. And the leader said, There is a day of reckoning and a day of atonement prepared.

6. And it came to pass that on the 31st day of the month of October the people assembled at the revolutionary centers—anciently named ballot boxes—and they did cast lots and the lot fell on Harri, son of Man, and his councillors, and they were proclaimed the representatives of the people and a new era set in.

CHAPTER III.

1. And it came to pass that all the cities of the earth looked toward Los Angeles, for they said, Never before hath the earth seen such a city.

2. For the leaders planned for all the people, and the people worked with a will and made a city beautiful beyond compare.

3. Corruption in the San Fernando Valley was stopped and the workers there worked with a will for they were treated as brothers.

4. And the aqueduct workers looked upon the bringing of the water into the city as a personal matter, and labor became a joy.

5. A city beneath a city was built of concrete and through the streets of this under city ran trains in all directions, carrying the people to happy homes—and to edge of the sea, at cost.

6. The ugly tracks that disfigured the streets and made them dangerous were torn up, and the streets were made wide and free and beautiful, so that even in the business centers our stately palm trees grew.

7. And a palace beautiful was built for the culture of mind and body and soul.

8. In the palace beautiful an orchestra rendered enchanting music while the people danced.

9. And the citizens socialized art and brought gifts of painting and sculpture. Artists vied with each other in giving the best they could produce and the palace became a social center, a place of delight, where friend met friend to laugh, to play, to learn.

10. The baths of Los Angeles built in the Renaissance, in the heart of the city and at the edge of the sea were greater and more beautiful than the baths of ancient Rome built by Diocletian.

11. And the games of ancient Greece were revived in a stadium just beyond the city limits and the youth of the city were encouraged in manly sports.

12. Parks were laid out and ornamented with trees and flowers, and the hideous images created by a brutalized civilization were pulled down, and allegories in bronze commemorating the heroic deeds of the past were erected in their stead.

13. A great public library was erected, like unto the Parthenon at Athens but more stately and beautiful.

14. A city hospital was built and people came from the corners of the earth to see it, for it was not only full of light and of ample space, but very beautiful within and without.

15. The City of the Angels became the people's landlord and rented to the very humblest of her citizens homes that were gems of architecture, little pieces of frozen music—and the poor at last had homes!

16. And a great farm was established, and the weak ones were made strong by socially useful labor, and crime decreased so much that the Bastille was torn down, and in its place a great civic news center was built. And from this center into a hundred thousand homes went several times a day the news of the whole earth.

17. And the city became like unto the city the seer saw in which there were no temples. Temples and jails and judges and policemen grew less and less, for there was nothing for them to do—the city was filled with peace.

18. And certain false prophets and calamity howlers arose in the Renaissance and said, We will be deluged by citizens of other cities, for they will say there is but one city on the earth. But Harri, son of Man, said: "Not so, for they will copy ours and stay at home." And it was so.

19. And it came to pass that in the golden days when labor was in possession of its own that a mighty festival was called, and the people assembled full of joy and at peace with each other.

20. And into the midst of the assembled multitude marched an aged, white-haired man with trembling hands and wavering step, and a great awe overcame the people, for they knew the man was Of

the son of Is, and he had come with others to confess his sins and get social forgiveness.

21. And when he had confessed he washed his hands and put on a white robe. The scribe indicted his name on a red card and put it into his hand, and the old man said, Mine eyes have seen the salvation of Union Labor; now let me be gathered unto my fathers. And the people cried with a loud voice and said: Amen!

22. And the City of the Angels became known throughout the whole earth as the City Beautiful, the City of Love, the Place of Peace."

The Goo Goos replied, in red, as follows:

"THE COMING VICTORY

Matthew 25:1-51"



The night before the primary election we held our biggest parade. We had 25,000 people in the line of march. We had all the available bands in the city. Thousands of people who scarcely knew we were on the map opened their eyes that night. We filled the largest auditorium in the city and several theatres, after the parade.

It was a spectacular display such as Los Angeles had not seen before and the most spectacular part of it was the Fife and Drum Corps of Civil War Veterans—twenty-five of them. As they marched into that vast auditorium the audience went wild with enthusiasm.

THE PRIMARY ELECTION

So sure were the "G. G.'s" of winning that they did not begin their actual campaign until within two weeks of the primary election.

They had no good speakers in their camp. Their literature was poor and their organization imperfect.

Their meetings were poorly attended. Ours were filled to overflowing. We rented the largest auditorium as often as it was rentable. The Record—a Scripps paper—came out for the whole Socialist ticket. Hearst's paper, the Examiner, boomed the liquor candidate; and the other four—two owned by Earl and two by Otis—were for the "Good Government" party.

In the midst of the campaign we fought hard for suffrage. We said, and reiterated the statement at all our meetings, that even though we should be defeated by the power we fought for we would fight for it, nevertheless!

We held special mass meetings and issued special literature. In contrast to our attitude, the Old Guard was bitterly opposed to suffrage. A committee of fifty, composed of representatives of the church, big business, law and medicine, came out to fight in the open against the women. The Times published 27 of their portraits on its front page one morning. The suffragists appealed to the working class for support and got it. The reactionaries feared the woman's vote and fought it—fought hard.

On October 10th the women were enfranchised. Just what they would do with the vote was not quite clear until after the Primary. We shall always be grateful for one brave act of the suffragists. About the last meeting of their campaign they invited all the mayoralty candidates to appear on the same platform and espouse their cause. It was the one chance Los Angeles had of comparing Harriman to Alexander, a real man to a dummy; a thinker to a sciolist and a statesman to a politician!

The Primary election was held October 31. Harriman polled 20,000; Alexander 16,000, the wide-open-town man 8,000; Gregory polled 324.

THE REAL FIGHT BEGINS

After the Primary election we reorganized our forces. Fourteen of the best labor union leaders in the city, all but two party members, abandoned their offices and manned the departments at Socialist headquarters.

November 1 Hearst's Examiner flopped to Alexander. This is what the "Good Government" party organ said of the flopping:

"KEEP IT AWAY

"Now comes the slimy Examiner, foe of Good Government and servant of the Southern Pacific, hypocritically pretending friendship for Alexander and the Good Government cause, which it has fought, misrepresented and abused.

"With the slime of its manifold lies still on its dirty hands and with treachery in its heart, it now pretends to support Mayor Alexander and the Good Government candidates when but yesterday it put forth its puny efforts to defeat.

"Away with the treacherous, lying thing! The Examiner is not to be trusted. It is false to Los Angeles and is the servant of the Wall street crowd that controls the Southern Pacific. Neither Hearst nor any of his imported managers have any interest, financial or otherwise in Los Angeles. They are aliens, ignorant of the history of the town, out of touch with the spirit and aspirations of the people, indifferent to their interests and a menace to the progress and prosperity of the state.

"The Examiner's enmity is a badge of honor. Its friendship is a disgrace."

The above describes Earl's opinion of Hearst, Hearst's opinion of Otis, and Otis' opinion of all the others. That, however, was the last note of discord in the campaign.

The Examiner played a master stroke and with the Old Guard gained immediately the whip hand of the situation. It corraled the "Old Guard," the discredited and pothouse politicians, liquor dealers, brothel keepers, preachers, suffragists, bankers and realty men. It nominated a committee of ninety-eight men and two preachers. Most of the men were of the odoriferous variety whose solemn oath would not be believed outside of a Los Angeles court room!

The G. G. organization grew less and less and in an inverse ratio grew the Citizens' Committee.

Inside of a week the "Old Guard" was in the saddle. The mount was a mare and "Money makes the mare go." Bankers and realty men assessed themselves generously. The amount raised will probably never be known but from the inside came the information that the slush fund amounted to about half a million.

The first act of the Old Guard was to take possession of the County Clerk's office. That made it hard for socialist women to register and easy for the others.

At a meeting of "Good Government" precinct workers the whole function of that office was given to the politicians. The deputies were empowered to deputize other deputies. We applied for the same privilege and were denied. That was an illegal act. State Senator Hewitt at the special session of the legislature, however, made it legal. I wired the governor asking to be heard on this special piece of legislation; he replied by wire:

"Kx—SACRAMENTO, Calif., Nov. 13, 11.

"Alexander Irvine, City Campaign Manager Socialist Party, LOS ANGELES:

"Telegram just received. Senator Hewitt called upon me recently in regard to call for special session. I explained to him the call would embrace the amendment of election and registration laws because of women suffrage and this would probably enable any just amendment to be made. This is the situation at present. The matter of amendment of registration and election laws arose prior to Hewitt's call.

"411pm

HIRAM W. JOHNSON."

Johnson, who was annoyed because the Scripps paper in Los Angeles supported us, stood ready to do all in his power to help the other side.

Having possession of the legal machinery and having unlimited money to employ all the registration clerks they needed, they had a tremendous advantage over us.

The suffragists came to the front at once. Some of them had to eat considerable crow but they were all equal to the occasion.

The most conspicuous political gymnast was Mrs. Shelley Tolhurst. When the committee of fifty took up arms against suffrage it was Mrs. Tolhurst who first crossed swords with them. In the Woman's Journal of September 30, 1911, she made an attack on the program and personnel of the male antis.

She told us they represented:

First. "Discredited Machine politicians."

Second. "Champion Woman fighters."

Third. "Big Business—Special Interests."

Fourth. "Worshippers of the golden calf."

She gave them a nice name, too. She called these negations of the masculine gender, "The Chocolate Soldier Brigade!"

Mrs. Tolhurst said:

"But over all, and everywhere will be floating this banner: 'Down with working woman!'"

Then the fortunes of war changed. "The Chocolate Soldier Brigade" entered the field of battle and Lance Corporal Tolhurst found herself taking orders from the men she had berated with all the violence her vocabulary afforded.

Mrs. Tolhurst wasn't the only idealist whose ideals were put in a pawn shop.

There were men and women in the more leisurely walks of life who had flirted with the name of Socialism for years. In the battle they lined up unerringly with the disciples of the "golden calf."

INTIMIDATION

Every banker, real estate broker and manufacturer intimidated those depending upon them, with varying degrees of severity and the degree depended upon the dependence.

A real estate firm with a mortgage on seven thousand houses told the part owners of them that if Harriman was elected they would be likely to lose their homes. Probably two-thirds of them believed the story and the other third were powerless to ignore the mandate.

The bankers played the same game with small depositors and it worked well.

A manufacturer laid off one hundred men and told them that if Alexander was elected they could come back the following Monday; if Harriman was elected the works would shut down! In this case the workmen were scab workmen but they had votes and so had their wives and daughters and self preservation is the first law of life.

The railroads picked out well known Socialists and discharged them. In some department stores the women and girls were given Alexander buttons to wear and a refusal to wear them meant a black list that few of them dared to enter.

One of the best reporters in the city was discharged from the Tribune, one of Earl's papers, because she was "suspected" of being a Socialist. Two of the best editorial writers on the same paper deemed it desirable to resign rather than be discharged, for the same reason. We employed all three of them in our literary department.

THE OLD GUARD'S NEW METHODS

The new politics, born of the desperation of the Old Guard, astonished the ordinary citizen. It was extraordinary, the number of tricks they tried in a short space of time. Literature and speech-making

wasn't in their line. They were "worn out," so they said. There were about 2,000 men out on strike at the time. They were supporting their families on seven dollars a week.

I was informed that some of these men had been made drunk, then Harriman buttons were stuck on and they were led where they could make the best exhibit. I did not believe it. The same story came to me from another source. Still I considered them mere incidents unworthy of any special attention. When a dozen of these stories came I went after the facts personally. Naturally, this was confined to a working class locality. What could one do with a case like that?

I hired three strong men. They procured Alexander buttons in quantity and when they found a man under the influence of such spirits they stripped him of his regalia and fitted him out as a Goo Goo with the picture of his chief on his heaving chest.

Not until the Old Guard took charge did our opponents have the temerity to rent a big hall. When they did so our people half filled it for them. They anticipated that and one of the speakers—a discredited Southern Pacific machine Republican—proceeded at once to insult the Socialists in the audience. He did it with a purpose. When they resented his insults he called them hard names. That made the bad matter worse and the replies from the audience became hotter and more direct. Next day five of the daily papers came out with big black scareheads—"SOCIALIST ROWDIES BREAK UP MEETING." The papers kept that incident in type during the rest of the campaign.

Men were sent to canvass from door to door and were directed to wear Harriman buttons and use insulting language wherever they went. Imagine the trail of disgust that the tracks of such a blackguard would leave. By the time we got on the track of this kind of thing the man would be in another part of the city.

The rumor bureau was a new thing and kept us busy. This is how it worked: A derogatory rumor containing a semblance of truth would be started by half a dozen men in certain centers where it would be carried broadcast. Hundreds who heard the rumor never heard the denial.

Most of the rumors had absolutely no foundation in fact.

In the West Lake district, where the poor do not live, at a woman's meeting, a woman arose and announced that Job Harriman was a confirmed drunkard. She was positive, so she said. Only half a dozen

of that group ever heard the denial. The others were not unwilling to believe the story. It was easier to believe it than to investigate. The story did not hurt **them**—the truth might.

Imagine the power of 2,600 men and women being paid from five to ten dollars a day to fight Socialism by lies, misrepresentation, insult, bribery, barter and worse!

THE NEWSPAPERS

The paper that supported Harriman never got into the homes of the well to do. It is a poor man's paper, anyway. So we had to depend on pamphlets. That at best meant one issue a week. Five daily papers kept up the fire of lies and misrepresentation every day.

Milwaukee suddenly became the vilest city on earth. According to the corrupt and subsidized press of Los Angeles, Sodom and Gommarrah were heavenly suburbs compared to Milwaukee.

Next to Milwaukee in decadence came San Francisco. The social evil that has been a festering open sore for half a century there was charged to the exclusive credit of the labor administration.

Milwaukee and San Francisco were played up in black headlines daily. When the Times could not invent a lie about Milwaukee it corraled a passing capitalist to invent one for it. The Times of November 4, 1911, printed the following:

"Let Los Angeles take a lesson from Milwaukee and fight the red peril which menaces it. This was the earnest warning given yesterday by H. F. Cochems and C. A. A. McGee, representative citizens of Milwaukee. These vigorous types of the best citizenship of Milwaukee are not here on a political mission. 'The people of Los Angeles,' they said in a joint interview, 'are in a more advantageous position than we were in Milwaukee last year because you have got a Good Government, or non-partisan organization, as against our party nominees. Milwaukee is a term of reproach now in the business centers of the East. We have lost a good many industries which intended to come to Milwaukee and would have built there if the Socialists had not gained control. General Otto Falk, president of the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association, stated that at the time the mayoralty election was pending, an arrangement had practically been concluded for the establishment of an industry which would employ 1,500 men, but when the Socialists got in control, the parties declined to invest their money and left the city. This is one of the many instances. We are marking time now.'"

This lying interview has been made the substance of a pamphlet by the anti-Socialists of Great Britain.

There is, perhaps, no man better qualified to answer the Cochems-McGee species of attack upon Milwaukee than General Otto Falk, president of the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association. In his review of the financial and industrial conditions in Milwaukee, one may search in vain for any intimation that industrial conditions in Milwaukee have been adversely affected by a Socialist administration. General Falk Says:

MILWAUKEE UNDER SOCIALISM

"The business progress of the year may be summed up in one sentence, namely: Milwaukee has held its own in spite of the adverse conditions and circumstances which have surrounded the commercial and industrial activities of the country at large. Any amplification of this statement must be prefixed with the admission that the country at large is still in the midst of an industrial depression and that Milwaukee as an integral part of the country must share in the economic fortunes or misfortunes that may come. If, then, the manufacturing centers of the country are depressed, Milwaukee must expect to suffer in the same degree. As a matter of fact, the volume of production in the so-called Milwaukee district for the year 1911 has been practically the same as the year before. While some of the industries have been obliged to work on a reduced scale of production, others have worked overtime and largely increased their production over the year before. The most remarkable feature of the year consists in the increased capital which has gone into industrial enterprise. The investment in Milwaukee manufacturing plants has been increased by over \$20,000,000 during the year. This fact alone is most encouraging in that it demonstrates not only the enterprise and energy of our local manufacturers but also the return of confidence in the future."

The Evening Wisconsin, in its review of the year, says of building operations in Milwaukee:

An aggregate of 5,046 building permits, allowing new structures or repairing to existing buildings, were issued by the building inspector this year. Last year the aggregate of these per-

mits was 4,036. The aggregate of expenditures for this year's building operations in Milwaukee is \$12,056,200, the largest in the history of Milwaukee as a city, as against \$9,797,581 last year.

The Milwaukee Free Press, in its review of the year, tells us that in the year 1911 there was in Milwaukee an increase of 48 manufacturing establishments; 1,041 more men were employed; \$1,872,300 more wages were paid; \$10,785,850 more capital was employed, and \$8,510,050 more of products marketed. With the activity in the building trades considerably more men must have been employed than in any previous year. The Free Press does not intimate that the character of the local administration was at all injurious to Milwaukee's industrial conditions. The adverse conditions have been national rather than local.

In The Sentinel's comprehensive and excellent annual review of Milwaukee's industrial, financial and commercial conditions, there is no suggestion of intimation that they have been adversely affected by a Socialist administration. Even The Journal's harp is stilled.

The Red Flag was used to good advantage for the opposition. Instead of an emblem of universal brotherhood it was exploited as the flag of anarchy, riot, chaos, plunder and murder!

The Old Guard had it plastered all over the town in 10 by 15-foot posters. One side of the poster was the red flag and on the other the stars and stripes. Between the flags the question: "Under which flag?"

The papers had prepared the minds of the gullible for this spectacular stunt. The average American becomes feeble-minded for a few weeks around election time and this kind of thing disturbs his equilibrium.

We accepted the challenge and stood by the red flag. We told the public, however, that to us it meant universal brotherhood, while the stars and stripes had been used to cover up the plunderbund and its foul dealing!

The Times went a little farther than mere opposition. It suggested some improvements on the Burns system.

A THREAT OF MURDER

"And soon—it has begun to happen already—the plain citizen of every country will form a combine. Its object will be the suppression of sedition and anarchy in the persons of the professional agitators.

*What the "Red Flag of Revolt" Has Always Meant.
Law Abiding Unionists! Remember Chicago's Experience With It in 1877-1885-1894.*



Do We Actually Want This in Los Angeles?

A SAMPLE CARTOON FROM THE "TIMES"

Theirs will be a big, powerful, effective, but very unostentatious revolt. It will work quickly, surely, silently. The first thing the Plain Citizen Combine will accomplish is the QUIET REMOVAL of these gentlemen. They won't be blown up; they will just QUIETLY DISAPPEAR from human ken. There will be a little inquiry at first, but it will die down ever so quickly, for of all people in the world the professional agitator depends entirely upon his presence and his glib tongue to maintain any sort of interest or influence in his followers. His impassioned rhetoric is his only asset.

"The idea of the Plain Citizen Combine is not being mouthed abroad and it is not seeking members or subscriptions. But it is growing rapidly, nevertheless, and it is a very real and tangible thing. With the itch removed, the great disease of unrest will soon be cured, and the world will settle down for another half century."—Times, November 2, 1911.

The above was a signed article on the editorial page. Months afterwards, the Times, squirming under a storm of protest from the outside, crawled behind the article and made the author shoulder the responsibility. The article is in perfect accord with the temper of the Times. Otis has displayed courage of a certain type and kind in his labor-hating policy, but he hadn't the courage to father this threat of murder. The writer of the article in explaining it, some months later, said she meant, only, that the agitators would be taken to some sanitarium. But the apology was too thin. We know what she meant. Otis knew what she meant.

There is an old bronze cannon on the Los Angeles public square and on it a French sentence which translated reads:

"The last argument of kings."

Not infrequently it has been the last argument of democracy also. It may be again. It may be in Los Angeles, too. Democracy may fail. I don't think it will. I don't think it has ever been tried. But if it does fail—if the "Plain Citizens' Combine" continues to control courts, juries, business men and the church and the ballot box ceases to be an emblem of hope for the righting of social wrongs, something will take its place. Something always has, and that something will be force—the force of arms, the force of any means of death and destruction that democracy can use. By the time we have exhausted all other means we will have prepared ourselves to be expert—not brainless bunglers—in the process of elimination, eradication and annihilation.

Liberty is worth as much as it ever was and there are as many as there ever were willing to pay the price.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCH

The churches of Los Angeles—of all denominations—were solidly against the Socialist program and ticket.

The only fair treatment came from a priest of the Roman Catholic church, who told his people to vote according to their conscience.

We challenged the preachers to defend their principles in a public discussion. They refused.

The Roman Catholic priests had a choice between an A. P. A. and a broad-minded tolerant Socialist and they voted for an A. P. A.

The Protestant preachers had a choice between working with the common people for a noble ideal and working with liquor dealers, gamblers and black legs, and they unflinchingly chose the latter. Some of them caused surprise. Most of them excited supreme contempt and widened the already impassable gulf between the church and the common people.

Here is an extract from a sermon by an Episcopal rector named Lee:

"No city," he said, "is better governed than ours, and yet we are going to make it better still by your help and co-operation. This vast corporation of Los Angeles represents more than \$600,000,000. Great sums are to be spent in the next few years. What would you do, friends? Stop and reason about the righteousness of your vote. I only ask you to study carefully and calmly the candidates on each platform—man for man.

"The one you will find intelligent, experienced and honest; the other you will find unintelligent, inexperienced and incapable. One of the candidates on the Socialists' ticket for the Council is a waiter in a cafe, two are drivers of wagons, one is a junk dealer, and another has served a sentence in jail.

"Study the two platforms. One is sane, temperate and definite. The other is intolerant, unreasonable and as vague as a mirage. This is not a question of Socialism at all, but of men who are posing temporarily as Socialists for the exploitation of self.

"A business man told me last Wednesday, a man who is always the friend of the laboring man and of the poor, that he was visiting in a certain section of this city wearing the little flag of our country on

his coat, and the people down there glared at him as though he were a wild beast. Some sneered and scoffed, others spat in hatred, and called Old Glory a 'ten-cent dirty rag.' Does this stir your patriotic blood? Oh, no! It only saddens me to think that American men and women and brothers and sisters in this enlightened age should so allow themselves to be blinded to their own welfare by the sophistry and treason of demagogues. Oh, friends, however you may vote, never again do dishonor to the flag we love.

"Is it true that the red flag of the French Revolution waves above your heads and the stars and stripes are lowered in the dust? Is it possible that this has actually come to pass in the fairest and best-governed city in our American land? Oh! Let us stop, look, listen! The warning is sounded; let us heed it and reason together. I love the old flag, I love the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. Two of my ancestors signed that immortal document, and that is why I plead today for civic freedom; that is why, my fellow-laborer, I urge you to be guided by reason, by temperance, to save yourself from the blind leaders of the blind."

This man before the primaries stumped for the liquor candidate who was a member of his church. After the primaries he stumped for the "Good Government" candidate. His simpering story about the flag was a figment of his feculent brains. His sermon was typical of his tribe. I wrote him a letter and his reply was as cowardly and evasive as his sermon.

"Rev. Baker P. Lee, Rector of Christ's Episcopal Church, City:

"Sir—The Los Angeles Times of November 27th publishes a sermon preached by you. I understand that you have verified over the phone the correctness of the following statement:

"'One of the candidates on the Socialist ticket for the Council is a waiter in a cafe, two are drivers of wagons, one is a junk dealer and another has served a sentence in jail.'"

"Coming, as this does, from a man whose life is supposed to be spent in preaching the gospel of the Carpenter of Gallilee, it is calculated to place you as a defender of the rich and the powerful and an enemy of the common people. One cannot get any satisfaction in the public press in replying to such a thing. I therefore take the only thing left for me to do. I challenge you to debate the following proposition:

"'Resolved, That the Socialist Party in the City of Los Angeles stands for higher ethical and moral standards than the church.'"

"I will accommodate you as to time or place. Admission may be by ticket and you may have all the tickets for your friends, or we will share them. Anything, anywhere, to get you out where somebody will have something to say beside yourself.

"If you do not like this form of a public discussion of public questions, suggest some way yourself, that we Socialists may have a square deal in public.

"All the 'Good Government' people have shown themselves up to this date cowards and evaders on these questions. Yours truly,

"ALEXANDER IRVINE."

The following is his reply:

"CHRIST CHURCH RECTORY,

"975 South Hooker Street,

"Los Angeles.

"November 30th, 1911.

"Alexander Irvine, Los Angeles, Cal.:

"Dear Sir—Your letter of the 28th was received by me and would have been answered sooner but for lack of time. As rector of a large parish (75 per cent of the people like myself, belonging to the 'poor class,' although with us we recognize no class distinction), you can readily see that with the regular services of the church, with constant calls to visit the poor, the sick and the needy and the drain upon one's time and vitality for many funerals, 95 per cent of which are outside of my own parish, and the various sermons, speeches, etc., that it requires nearly 15 hours out of the 24 to get through with it. I love the work among the poor and count myself a true friend of my fellow laborer, wherever he may be. Your challenge to a debate I must decline for the reason that I feel that it would do no good and for the further reason that my time is quite fully occupied at present. If, however, you would like to meet a friend of mine, who is really eager to meet either you or Mr. Harriman in public debate, I refer you to Mr. R. H. Norton, whose business address is 175 North Spring street; phone A 1129. In Mr. Norton you will find a 'foeman worthy of your steel' and a Christian gentleman who is better posted on the subject than,

"Very truly,

BAKER P. LEE."

His substitute Norton was an obscure little man who chased Harriman around asking for a debate. We finally asked the opposition if they would stand sponsor for Norton and they refused.

! Here are some reasons given by a Baptist preacher named Brougher why Alexander should be elected, viz.:

"First. Mayor Alexander is an honest, honorable, upright official. No one could bribe him or intimidate him and he has not been and is not now under the control of any committee, clique or class.

"Second. He has proved himself to be thoroughly competent in handling the business affairs of the city, and the experience of the last two years has made him more capable than ever.

"Third. He has given Los Angeles a clean administration morally. The difference between the Los Angeles of today and the city under the former administration is as distinct as light is from darkness.

Brougher says "a clean administration morally," and half a block from his church stands the very core of the city's moral rottenness. Between his church and the brothels stands the California Club and between Brougher and his investigation of these conditions stands his pew holders! He performed good service for the Goo Goos and they raised his salary a thousand dollars a year after the election.

Here is a contribution from another Episcopal rector:

"Let the economic Socialists do what they will with our property and our political offices, but if they introduce here what they have in other countries—a doctrine that defiles both sexes and destroys the home and Christian marriage—it is high time the teachings of Jesus Christ be openly set against them.

"Let the uncompromising words of the blessed Master find their echo in the uncompromising attitude of every Christian man and woman toward this whole filthy business.

"The times cry for loyalty—and for intelligent loyalty—to the words of the Lord Jesus."—Rev. C. T. Murphy, Jr.

I wrote, asking him where these things had happened. He didn't know!

Most of the preachers were against the Liquor Power. Most of the church members were for it.

We charged the opposition with saloon support. They replied:

"The Good Government organization does not solicit nor will it receive from public utility corporations or liquor interests any funds for the necessary expenses for the campaign for Mayor Alexander.

"It has NOT been our policy to receive any financial assistance from interests that may ask something from the people or administra

tion in payment for their aid. Neither do we believe in accepting any such aid from the liquor interests.

(Signed) "GOOD GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION,

"George Baker Anderson, Secretary.

"Parly M. Johnson, Treasurer Campaign Committee."

We presented two cancelled checks made payable to the "G. G.'s" by a saloonkeeper. P. M. Johnson was at the time he cashed these checks for the "Goo Goos" a police commissioner. So was the president of the "Goo Goo" organization.

When shown the checks preachers shrugged their shoulders.

OUTSIDE SPEAKERS

The newspapers had so flagrantly and continuously misrepresented Milwaukee that we asked and received the services of State Senator W. R. Gaylord of the Socialist Party of Wisconsin. Senator Gaylord spent ten days with us and performed splendid service. We were not able, however, to get his information before the people who were misinformed by the press of the opposition. A political lie is fleet of foot—Truth follows like a hedgehog.

Margaret Haley, of Chicago, is a Corliss engine of the feminine variety. Margaret does not denominate herself a Socialist, but she fought with a fiery soul for our entire program.

In sharp contrast to Miss Haley was Helen Todd, who had hitherto been known as a Socialist. She came to Los Angeles to enter the fight for suffrage. When it was over and the real fight began she was non est. She trained, lived, moved and had her political being within the breastworks of the enemy. So we catalogued her with them and time justified the judgment that placed her there.

J. Stitt Wilson, Mayor of Berkeley, and Lewis J. Duncan, Mayor of Butte, lent a hand. Wilson is very popular in Los Angeles and great crowds greeted him every time he spoke. What Duncan had done during the brief space of his incumbency created a profound impression in those who heard him. But here again was the difficulty—the people who needed his message heard it not.

The opposition crept snail-like within their shells and stayed there. We reached comparatively few of them by our speakers.

Charlotte Perkins Gilman came for a series of addresses and received a larger hearing from the other side than any other of the visitors.

Orders were given in the Earl papers that she should be called "Mrs. Gillman if mentioned at all!"

THE DIRTIEST TRICK OF THE CAMPAIGN

Despite the slush fund; despite the trickery, chicanery and overt corruption of the Old Guard; despite the intimidation of the banks and "Big Business" generally; despite the violent opposition of the liquor dealers and brothel keepers; despite the combined opposition of all the churches, we were going down the home stretch to victory when a cataclysm turned the tide!

About a week before election an unusual thing happened. We had been challenging the "Goo Goo" party to come out and debate the issues. Later, we challenged the Old Guard. They refused. Now comes T. E. Gibbon, a crafty corporation lawyer, and challenges Job Harriman to debate! We sent a committee to arrange the details. Gibbon dictated that he should open and close the debate! He was careful, too, about the subject matter of debate. Every point had to be conceded to him. To get him out on any terms was a luxury to us. The Temple Auditorium was packed to the doors—half Socialists, half "Goo Goos." Gibbon opened. He began by attacking Shoaf and the McNamaras.

We were astonished at this, since he himself had set the limitations. He spent half his time on these outside topics.

When Harriman arose he said:

"Mr. Gibbon has introduced subjects not germane to the debate, nor issues in the campaign. I shall pass them without comment!"

Mr. Harriman flayed him so thoroughly that Gibbon was the object of the pity of his friends and the derisive laughter of his enemies. The pity turned into contempt when the public knew the scheme.

THE PLEA OF GUILTY

In less than 24 hours we discovered the mechanism of the trap laid for Harriman by Gibbon. The debate was held on Thanksgiving night, November 30. Sixteen hours later Harriman and I were sitting in the campaign office together when some one broke the news to him in a whisper.

Harriman turned to me and said:

"The McNamaras have entered a plea of guilty!"

We arose at once and took one of the autos at the service of the campaign committee and with two labor leaders drove to Elysian

Park to escape the crowd that was already gathering around headquarters.

We knew then why Gibbon had challenged.

By opening the alleged debate as he did Gibbon was leading Harriman into a trap. Gibbon knew that on the morrow the McNamaras would plead guilty. Harriman neither knew of their guilt nor their plea. By attacking the McNamaras, Gibbon thought Harriman would defend them and next morning the capitalist papers would contain not only the plea of guilty but Harriman's defense of the guilty, all in one issue. Gibbon saw that Harriman was unsmirched. He thought to besmirch him. It was the dastardly trick of a coward; but it failed; and the coward got what was coming to him—a sound drubbing on the platform and the contempt of his own friends.

In that drive through the park I saw an aspect of Harriman's character that I had not seen before. We were both perfectly conscious of what this plea of "Guilty" would mean. Harriman was unperturbed and as calm under the stress of the crisis as I had ever seen him. His language was just as measured, just as careful, as it ever was. He talked of the situation as if he were a mere spectator sitting in a theater watching a play, and as we talked of the leading characters in the play it was only because we were looking a little ahead and trying to find the drift of the plot. I watched Harriman intently in that hour of storm and stress and what I saw enhanced my already well established belief that he was the greatest labor leader in the United States—a man of the type of Abraham Lincoln: just as big, just as broad-minded, lacking only opportunity to do as great a work. At the edge of the park, squatted on the hilltop, sits the bungalow that I call home. We got out of the automobile for a little while, and telephoned to headquarters to get every speaker in a certain room at 7 o'clock. Meantime we went in search of Darrow: Very few words were spoken at this interview. A question by Harriman was why he was not informed on the development of the case or on the final plea of "Guilty," and the plain answer of Darrow was that nobody had the heart to tell him of the crisis; and as he had been practically out of the case for months they had thought it unnecessary to inform him of developments. I asked Darrow one question:

"Was it part of the bargain that this plea should be made before election?"

"It was to be made at once," Darrow said slowly.

There was a long silence. Darrow looked at me. "What do you think, Irvine?" he asked. "I cannot think," I replied, and the interview ended.

They, the speakers, were all there at the appointed room at 7 o'clock, expectant, eager. Stitt Wilson was there; so was Gaylord of Wisconsin, and a dozen other visitors less known. That was one of the most intense moments of my life. Our minds and our eyes were fixed on Harriman. He never quivered. There was not the slightest falter in his speech. We had made up our minds what to do and we laid it before our speakers for discussion. The McNamara case was not an issue of the campaign. We refused to make it one. We asked the speakers not to discuss it. Tom Feeley, of Milwaukee, a witty Irishman, stood up in that meeting and demanded that we discuss the McNamara case. I opposed this with all the strength in my power; the speakers agreed with me. Tom Feeley said he would program. That night he was in San Pedro and addressed a crowd of 2,000 people in his characteristic Irish fashion. In the midst of Tom's speech somebody yelled at him:

"What about the McNamaras?"

Feeley stopped, stuffed his hands deep into his pockets and with a quizzical look on his Keltic features, said:

"That reminds me of a story, begorra! I heard a story once about Jonah, the whale man. The story goes on to say that when the whale coughed Jonah up on the bank and turned around with a swish of his tail and went off to sea, Jonah gasped for breath, looked after the whale and said, 'Ah, begorra! I'm glad I'm not in it.'"

That ended the McNamara case for that evening.

That night every audience was doubled. They blocked the streets, unable to get in. The doubling up of the audiences and the tremendous fire of enthusiasm that swept through them all deceived us for awhile and we thought that the McNamara case would act as a boomerang on the men who had staged it as a great drama in a political campaign. We were mistaken, however. Men and women wept on the streets. Hundreds who had been keenly nerved for months collapsed into lethargy. We were heseiged by hundreds of people who wanted to know what it meant. They could not believe the men guilty. The following day, December 2nd, came

LINCOLN STEFFENS' STORY

in the Los Angeles Express:

"Labor and capital both stand convicted here today, the one of direct crime, the other of inciting to crime. Innocent workingmen and innocent business men may protest this interpretation of the conclusion of the McNamara and all other labor propositions in this county yesterday afternoon. But I was a participant from the beginning nearly two weeks ago in the negotiations which led up to that result, and I know, not only the facts and considerations which weighed with both parties, but I caught also the spirit of it. And that was fine.

"Los Angeles has done something which, if the people here and in the country at large will understand it aright, must put the ancient controversy between labor and capital on a new and a clearer basis forever. This city had labor down; she could have reaped vengeance on its agents, and the leaders and (excepting Job Harriman) the attorneys of labor knew it. But the commanding men in this community didn't do that. They let labor up. And one reason why these capitalists did that was because they knew that they also were at fault.

"And, having done this thing, in this spirit, they propose now to go on and do more. They will cross the class line. They promised me, some 20 of them, that they would meet with some of the labor leaders here and consider afresh the problem of labor. Nothing may come of it, neither side expects too much. But each side has promised not only to listen, but to try to understand the other.

"In other words, the

WAR BETWEEN CAPITAL AND LABOR

is recognized as a war. The compromise of the murder case in court yesterday is to be understood as an acknowledgment that J. B. and J. J. McNamara are, as District Attorney Fredericks said a few days ago, 'Not criminals, but fanatics.' I would use other words; I have talked with these men in their jail, and I think I know them and something of what they think. They think they are serving a cause; that they are fighters in a war. And they are. And the state's action toward them is, in effect, as I am trying to show, the first step towards a treaty of peace.

"The only limitation I must put upon this summary of the matter is this: All the agreements made are without the ken of the court.

Judge Bordwell was not a party to the negotiations, nor is he bound by the agreement made. He is considering the cases purely as crime, and from another point of view. But there is an agreement between the attorneys for the state and for these men, and if the judge decides to exceed it, the cases will go on as before. But I think the judge's conclusion will be in a spirit of the community he represents.

"It is necessary to say this for another reason. Coming in the midst of a hot political campaign and without any explanation, the first news was a shock, especially to the working people and the friends of the Socialist candidates. It is amazing how many of them there were who really believed that these men were innocent. Some of these people lost their heads; the reporters who went out around the town said many men wept, and wild rumors were flying everywhere. It is wrong to put out a piece of news as unexpected as this without an explanation. It looked for a while as if Los Angeles had gone mad, and certainly some of the good effect which was expected from this event was lost by the way it was thrown to the public.

"Nothing but all the facts about the negotiations and the agreement can clear this matter now and make it do its right work and both sides of the controversy have left it to me to present those facts.

CONFERENCE WITH SCRIPPS

"The beginning of the story was at Miramar, the ranch of E. W. Scripps, near San Diego, on Sunday, Nov. 19. I went down there with Clarence F. Darrow, chief counsel for the defense, to visit for a day, and we talked, all three of us, about everything under the sun, and finally about the McNamara case. We all three regretted that it couldn't be tried out on its merits, that it would be good for the world to know that there was a group of labor which not only blew up buildings but killed human beings. And something was said about this fact being an indictment against society. Mr. Scripps read a letter he had in his possession, which was a complete statement of the philosophy of direct action. I shall write something about this phase in a later letter. All the readers need to know at the present is that it covers the belief that force and violence are the only weapons labor has to fight with. We could all see that if this case could be tried so as to develop that theory as a defense, this terrible, true fact could be brought out into the light and dealt with. Someone else suggested that another way to accomplish the same end was to settle the McNamara cases on the basis of a plea of guilty. Such a plea would give

us all a chance to assume that a part of organized labor had actually adopted the policy of force.

"I am not clear as to the next drift of the conversation, but I remember that Darrow said that the cases, especially against Jim McNamara, were a 'dead cinch.' He thought we would have not only a conviction to base our assumption on but that the boy 'would be hanged.'

"This idea worked in my mind and the next day, on Monday, I decided to see if any men on the capitalist side in Los Angeles would consider a settlement of the cases. I called first on Mr. Meyer Lissner, a man who is one of the leaders in Southern California of the Progressive Republican party. He looked astonished at the suggestion, but I went on to remind him of the class line and the wound left in San Francisco by the prosecution of the business criminals up there. Then I referred to the condition of European cities, where the class line has been drawn so hard and sharp that the class war is the principal thing in the life of a people.

"'You have it here,' I said.

"'You have Socialists and labor men lined up against the other class, you have hate all through your system. That's bad. It may be that the class fight is never to end, but why not try some other way than fighting it out?'

INAUGURATION OF GOLDEN RULE

"And we talked about the rare opportunity he and his friends had of taking the first step in Los Angeles. They could begin with an act of generosity toward two heroes of labor who were in trouble with all men looking on and watching. Why not let them go? That was the question. The next step was to see men who would be in a position either to help or hinder. Mr. Lissner suggested calling on Thomas E. Gibbon. Mr. Gibbon balked like everybody else at first, but he saw it, and seeing it, he thought he could make anybody see it. He went out and he saw first, I believe, Mr. Harry Chandler, who first said we were all crazy, but then he changed his mind and went crazy himself, so to speak. And I want to say right here that in all the interviews with all the men we all saw, there was not one that took a small or a narrow view of it. It was the big idea of getting the class war out of their city that appealed to them all. Mr. Chandler, for example, declared at first that he couldn't help us, because of the special interest of the Times in the matter: "We should be misun-

derstood,' he said, 'and would do you more harm than good.' But the next thing we knew, he was out on the job and from that time on he worked day and night.

THEN WENT TO DARROW

"When it appeared that the men on that side were willing to make concessions, I went to Darrow. The question I put to him was whether he would consider a proposition to compromise. Like everybody else, he declared it was impossible, and he meant that it was impossible both from his side and from the other side. But when I told him how generously the opposition regarded the proposition, he said that it might be a way out and he thought that both his clients, the McNamaras, and organized labor could be made to see it. We talked of the larger view of the prospect, of the use of getting the truth out, and he kept going back to the certainty that Jim, as he called J. B. McNamara, would be convicted and might hang.

"I never had a man hang that I undertook to defend,' he said, 'and I can't bear to think of this boy being killed.' He told me to go ahead and see what could be done.

"Those of us who were at work therefore went on seeing other men. They all protested, of course, and some of them seemed to cite insurmountable obstacles. There was the 'East,' for example, and they meant the Erectors' Association and others, who were hot on the man-hunt in Chicago, Indianapolis and New York. No one doubted for a moment that, if these men could be told what the plan was and what the spirit was that moved us, they could be got to come in. And, by the way, it is to be put up to them later. But they were telegraphed to and they telegraphed back and most people think they can't say much in a telegram, so they didn't get a clear sense of anything and telegraphed back protesting against any compromise. This had its effect. For these men not only replied to the telegrams they received, they wired also to other men in Los Angeles and we were afraid there would be a leak. The business was hurried and the terms against the McNamara boys were hardened.

SAW DISTRICT ATTORNEY

"For it must be understood that what everybody here in Los Angeles saw was that if it was to be done at all it must be done handsomely. The first, the local, proposition, was that James B. McNamara, the boy on trial, was to plead guilty and that everybody else was to go

free. I can't speak for District Attorney Fredericks; I didn't see him personally; but everybody else wished that as few individuals as possible should be punished. Mr. Edwin T. Earl, expressed the highest conception of it all.

"Let's have done with punishment," he said, "let's get through with all vengeance."

"Mr. Earl is far in advance of his day; his view did not prevail. There had to be one victim at least, and by and by it appeared that there must be two.

"Meanwhile Darrow was being kept informed of these changes, one by one, and you could see him age under it all. He carried it alone at first. I think it must have been a week before he had faith enough in the outcome to talk with his colleagues about it. And when he did he took them one by one and not more than one a day. Like everybody else they all protested at first, but when they were asked to consider what the case was and what the chances were of getting labor and the labor philosophy rightly understood, they came in; all except Job Harriman. Nobody had the heart to tell him. He is the Socialist candidate for mayor and it was expected that the plea of guilty and the attitude of business men in Los Angeles toward labor might affect the result. So Harriman was kept in the dark of the plan afoot until he got it when the public did. He had been neglecting the case, very naturally, on account of his pre-occupation with his campaign, so he knew nothing, either of the hopelessness of the case nor of the negotiations.

BUSINESS MEN MEET

"When the negotiations were approaching a settlement it was deemed advisable to take the matter up with a larger body of representative business men. Some 20 or more men were hurriedly invited to Mr. Lissner's office Wednesday evening, November 29. Those that responded were Stoddard Jess, the leading financier of Los Angeles; J. O. Koepfli, former president of the Municipal League and a large employer of labor; R. W. Burnham, local manager for R. G. Dun & Co.; Edwin T. Earl, proprietor of two newspapers; Fred Baker of the Baker Iron Works; M. P. Synder, banker, former mayor of Los Angeles; T. E. Gibbon, leading lawyer and member of the harbor commission; Paul Shoup, vice president and general manager of the Southern Pacific's electric lines in Southern California; James Slau-son, president of the Chamber of Commerce; H. W. Frank, a promi-

nent merchant; former United States Senator Frank P. Flint; W. J. Washburn, prominent banker and member of the city council, and Meyer Lissner. Here again the same comedy was gone through with, only in an exaggerated degree. It was comparatively easy to take one man by himself and show him, but to put the case to a group with many divergent views was more difficult. The first statement fell like a pall upon them. They saw the matter plain enough. They grasped it in one statement, but Fred Baker raised the real question. He expressed for the rest of them his resentment of the troubles labor had caused him and his predicament is typical enough and very real. He and some of his friends were sore about it, and they expressed feelings which are not unlike those that drive labor into the use of force. But as the conversation went along it was represented to them that they also were guilty of wrongs to labor and that part of the fault for the condition in Los Angeles was theirs. And there was no denial of it. This was the spirit which gives an outsider the sense that if Los Angeles really goes at this job it can really do something. Certainly no other city could do more than these men here can toward having at least an understanding, if not with, at least of the needs and feelings and thoughts of labor. And that is what Mr. Baker's mind drove at. He wanted to know 'what next.'

"If this is done," he said, "when it is done what are we going to do then?"

WANTED TO KNOW

"And that was the proposition, of course, and it was taken up there and it was decided to try the experiment of a meeting with some labor leaders. In other words, the conclusion was, to back quietly any action the district attorney should decide to take, and if a compromise was arranged, not to rest content with that, but to go on and have a conference with labor upon the labor situation in Los Angeles.

"In all fairness to Captain Fredericks, the district attorney, it should be said that, so far as I know, he never asked for any such support. I can't go intimately into his part of the negotiations. Another man, whom I have not permission to name, saw Mr. Fredericks, and all I heard of this was indirect. But it amounted to this: That the district attorney knew he had an almost perfect case, that he had been criticised a good deal during the last campaign, and was eager to handle this case in a way that would answer all his critics; but that, like everybody else, he took the larger view and compromised in the interest of the community.

"The day after the meeting in Mr. Lissner's office, Thanksgiving day, some eight or ten other leading citizens of the city were sought and four were found: William Mulholland, chief engineer of the Los Angeles aqueduct; J. B. Lippincott, assistant engineer of the aqueduct; W. B. Mathews, attorney for the aqueduct department, and Charles D. Willard, the man who, more than any other in this city, represents and personifies the many years of fighting that has been done here for good government. All these men agreed that the compromise was just the thing to do.

"Thanksgiving day was the crucial day. The terms had been negotiated down to a point where there were only two differences. Harry Chandler went to see the district attorney to ask him to concede one point and the counsel for the McNamara boys went over to the jail. I went with the latter group, and the story of what happened there I shall tell later. All that need be said now is that Jim, who had consented four or five days before to plead guilty himself, objected to having his brother Joe do the same thing. J. J. was willing. He gave his consent after five or ten minutes' talk, and I sat with Jim while the lawyers talked to Joe.

"Joe will never do it,' Jim said to me. Within a minute they came back with Joe's consent.

"Jim held out all forenoon and late in the afternoon; when I went back to the jail, I found that the attorneys also had returned there. They had Jim's consent to a plea of guilty by both of them.

ONE MORE STRUGGLE

"That evening, LeCompte Davis, one of the local attorneys who was assisting in the defense, went to see Mr. Fredericks. Darrow, Joe Scott and I went over to Darrow's house and waited. We didn't have to wait long. In about 20 minutes Mr. Davis came in and he said that he and Fredericks had agreed.

"There was one more struggle. Toward the end of last week, Darrow had wired to Sam Gompers at Atlanta to send out here somebody to represent the American Federation of Labor. Ed N. Nockels, secretary of the Chicago Federation of Labor, had responded, and he was waiting for us at Darrow's house. He didn't like the arrangement at all, at first, but the whole case was gone over for him bit by bit and the whole situation here and everywhere in labor circles was put before him. It was a wonderful review of actualities in that field,

and it convinced Nockels. He said that under all the circumstances he thought it was for the best.

"There remained only the judge to be seen, Mr. Fredericks called on him; nobody knows just what was said, of course, but he had known nothing of the negotiations and he would have nothing to do with any understanding. His view was that he couldn't have. The men might plead guilty and that would stop the cases, of course. But he must be left free to consider them on their merits only and to fix any sentences that he might deem just. The success or failure of the whole arrangement, therefore, depends upon what Judge Bordwell may decide. No one has any inkling of what he will do, but I have had a couple of personal conversations with him and I am not afraid that he will do anything to change the result. He isn't as hard as he seems to be, and I don't find in his mind any of the prejudice which some of his critics here have accused him of. But, as I said above, if he should happen to sentence the prisoners to penalties greater than those agreed upon by the attorneys, the whole thing goes off and the trials will go on as before.

NEEDED TO KNOW

"This is what Los Angeles needed to know when the news was published. For you understand nobody, except those fully in the secret, had any inkling that negotiations were going on at all. The first sign of anything was in the morning when, upon the calling of the case, the district attorney asked for a postponement till 2 o'clock in the afternoon. He did this apparently to get a chance to see the judge, and then, to see the defense. The reporters were on the jump at this and in a very short time the sense of expectancy got into the air in the courthouse. Everything that happened for the next four hours was full of significance and several rumors were hatched which grew big during the afternoon. For when court was called again in the afternoon, everybody was still off on some wrong scent. A crowd had gathered; the courtroom was stilled, and so was the hall outside. Jim McNamara was brought in as usual, but after him came J. J. That would seem to let the cat out of the bag, but even then no one guessed what was up. The truth didn't come out until the district attorney arose and told the judge that he understood that James and J. J. McNamara wished to change their plea from not guilty to guilty. Very quietly, but under intense excitement, the usual form was gone through. It lasted only 10 minutes at the most, and it was not until

the judge arose to go out that a crowd, including the reporters, recovered themselves enough to move. Then, of course, there was a lively scattering for telephones and a buzzing of inquiry. Men asked one another what had happened. They couldn't quite get it. They heard but they couldn't grasp it.

"In order to understand this, you must know that ever since the explosion in the Times building, the class line has been drawn here and almost everyone has taken a side. Moreover, almost all men have been thinking on their side. If you were for labor, the building was blown up by gas. If you were on the capitalist side, it was blown up by dynamite put there by labor men. Out of this had developed a new political party, the Socialist Party, and with it were all kinds of workingmen and their friends and others, enough to make a number near enough to a majority to frighten everybody on the other side. And those on the other side had also united into a solid mass.

"The truth, the plain fact, which an outsider could determine in three days of inquiry, the truth that representatives of a group of Organized Labor, which has been blowing up bridges, had turned aside to 'give the Los Angeles Times one,' was almost unbelievable by labor, and even the other side couldn't credit the news that the McNamaras had pleaded guilty. It was evident, beyond all question, that the rank and file of workingmen even here did not believe that they were guilty.

STATE OF PUBLIC MIND

"The rumors that were invented to explain shows the state of the public mind. One of them was that Darrow had surrendered to save himself. It happened that on Monday last a detective in the employ of the defense was arrested on the charge of attempting to bribe a man who was expected to be summoned in the next list of jurymen. Since the public did not know how long before that the negotiations had been started, the conclusion was jumped at that Darrow had decided suddenly, after that Monday, to settle. This is absurd, of course, and when the time comes, I shall tell of a message Darrow gave to me after that arrest to carry to the other side. It is enough for the present to say that it will let Darrow out of any charge of selfishness.

"What the public here will think about it when all the facts are known; what the effect on the election may be, are interesting questions to be answered in the next two or three days. But the questions that I should like to leave on the national mind are just these:

"What are we Americans going to do about conditions which are breeding up healthy, good tempered boys like these McNamara boys to really believe, as they most sincerely do, they and a growing group of labor, that the only recourse they have for improving the conditions of the wage-worker is to use dynamite against property and life?

"And is it possible for a group of employers, well meaning as these are whom we have dealt with in Los Angeles, to understand their employes' point of view, not to take it, mind you, but simply to comprehend it?



*The New York Tribune's idea of Lincoln Steffens
after having played peace-maker*

"These are real questions, they are pressing here. They are coming to all of us in all our cities. Isn't it time to consider them seriously? Certainly it is worth while to watch what happens here in Los Angeles during the next few months. I propose to follow this inquiry East for a while and then come back here. We are getting an

understanding of politics, we are coming even to get some sense of the evils of direct action by organized capital. Why shouldn't we go on and find out about labor?"—Lincoln Steffens.

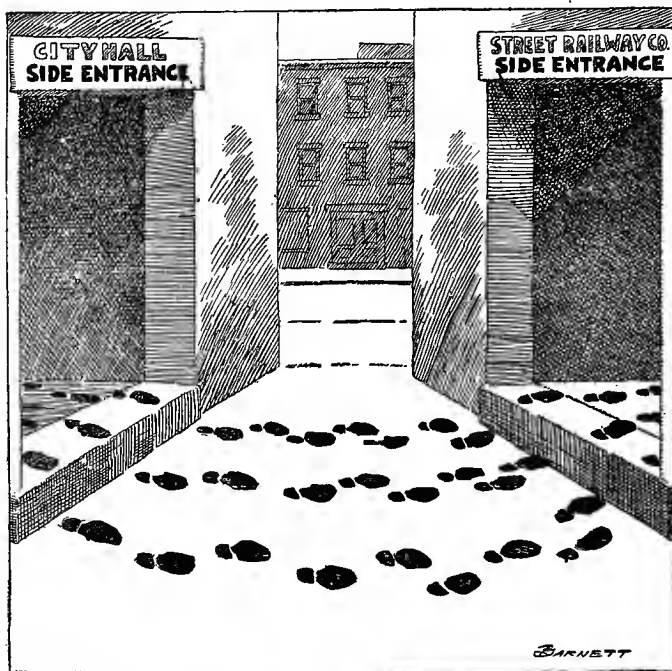
It is easily observable here that Steffens scarcely alludes to the political campaign raging in Los Angeles. What the United States was thinking about, our splendid victory at the primaries and the expectation that we would carry the city for Socialism, seems to be of no importance to him in this article; and yet the one fact that the whole world now knows and believes is that that bunch of business men, afraid of the rising power of the working class, saw one thing and one only in this Golden Rule business brought to their notice by Steffens, and that was that a plea of "Guilty" would disturb the social mind and bias it against labor. Most of these men were social pirates; they carry on a social brigandage against the interests of the working class, and in those conferences with Steffens they saw only a political advantage that could be gotten under the guise of religion. As I said in a public meeting after the election: "THEY PRESENTED LABOR WITH THE GOLDEN RULE BUT IT WAS DANGLING FROM THE CROSSBAR OF A GIBBET." Nothing has ever happened in the history of capitalism that better illustrated the subserviency of the courts to business men. They pronounced the sentence and the judge merely re-echoed what a bunch of business men had already determined upon.

The plea of "Guilty" came four days before the election, and in those four days every issue of the five capitalist papers that were against us accused Job Harriman of knowing the details of the McNamaras' guilt, and the unthinking multitude could not see that a "Good Government" party candidate (Joseph Scott) did know all the facts all of the time and that same unthinking multitude swept him into office. Scott and Darrow and Davis and McNutt, the other attorneys for the defense, over their signatures, made affidavit that Harriman knew nothing of the affairs of the case for the past few months. According to Earle's newspapers, Steffens was a veritable Daniel come to Judgment. They covered him with fulsome flattery and I think they made Steffens believe that they were honest, that they meant what they said. He knows now they didn't.

We went on with our meetings. Their work was done. The Old Guard, however, had still a strong card to play; they played it on election day. They had sworn in deputies under pretense of keeping the peace. These men were well paid and armed with revolvers and scattered over the city. In nearly every polling booth in the city they

had a lawyer or a crooked politician. These deputies and lawyers and thugs kept up a bulldozing, menacing attitude from six in the morning until six in the evening. Thousands of Socialist registration papers were destroyed. On election day a thousand Socialists were madly clamoring around the County Clerk's office for a right to vote. The

"What Has Happened Since December?"



election laws of the state are so arranged that the Democrats and Republicans divide the election boards between them and the Socialist Party, though outnumbering either of them at this election, was helplessly at their mercy. There was absolutely no law for a Socialist that day. We had contracted for one hundred and thirty automobiles and the contracts for two-thirds of them were broken—broken without excuse or pretense. They said they were out of order. In some

cases they told the plain truth—that we could do as we wished but thousand automobiles. They were in each other's way all day long. Their women were hysterical and worked like fiends. The Old Guard bought thousands of the foreign and colored votes. And yet, I think the most remarkable thing in the political history of this country is the fact that in spite of all this opposition there stood steadfast, true and immovable, fifty-two thousand people who voted the Socialist ticket, the largest Socialist vote ever polled in an American city.

The moment they won the election, like a pack of blood hounds they went after all other labor leaders. They are giving no quarter and we expect none. There will be no compromise—no fusion and in the future, no flag of truce. The fight is on and will never end until workers of Los Angeles capture the city and run it in the interest of all the people!

THE BATTLE'S AFTERMATH

Before the smoke of December 5 had cleared away, the Old Guard began to collect its toll and pay its political debts. This is what the Express—Earl's paper—said of the council of its own choosing:

"With every sign pointing to a carefully prearranged program which was to be carried out despite any protests that might arise, the city council today awarded the Los Angeles Railway Company the last two big valuable franchises the city is likely to dispose of for many years. The franchises are to cover two cross-town car lines. * * * The terms on which they were granted were arranged in executive session. They never have been discussed publicly and there never has been an opportunity given the public to present objections to them. The proposed franchise never has been before a committee and there has been no opportunity for public discussion until today, when the council laid down the policy that it did not care to know what the public thinks about it. This is literally true. Just before the council voted to accept the lone bid of the Los Angeles Railway a citizen arose in the rear of the council chamber and asked: 'Is the public to be heard on this?' Councilman Stewart arose and said: 'I move the public be NOT heard,' and the motion prevailed."—Express, December 19, 1911.

Again, on December 26, 1911, the Express says:

"The present city council, notwithstanding that a majority of the members pledged themselves to the Good Government organization's program for a model general franchise ordinance, have set in motion

the machinery whereby the Huntington interests are to have the two biggest franchises now pending, not under such terms as a model franchise law would exact. In fact, the franchises are only modified forms of the old Broughton act franchise, which was designed by the railway interests for their own benefit."

The above extracts show the attitude of "Good Government" pa-



CARTOON FROM TRIBUNE

pers on "Good Government" councilmen — the men they elected in 1908 and re-elected in 1911.

The following from the Express of January 5, 1912, shows how the promises of the Old Guard are being kept by the city council:

"BARNEY HEALY IS GIVEN STREET JOB

"Barney Healy, formerly a member of the city council, has been

given an emergency appointment as foreman in the street department at \$100 a month, the position he held in 1902, when he was elected to the council for the first time.

"The appointment was made by A. C. Haskins, inspector of public works, acting under instructions from the board of public works.

"Before Healy could be appointed it was necessary to remove William Griffith, who had been holding the position under a temporary emergency.

"Healy will not be able to retain the position unless he succeeds in passing a civil service examination, to be held later."

When beaten at the primaries he joined the Old Guard and this is his remuneration. They will have to get another job for him, however.

So brazen were Alexander and his reformers of 1912 that they asked the Civil Service Board to suspend their rules in order to let Healy take his job. Healy couldn't pass an examination to look after an out-house!

The board refused to obey the order. A scoundrelly agreement, however, will be carried out. Los Angeles knows how. Zeehandelaar, Secretary of the M. and M., will show it, as he did in a spur track ordinance passed in violation of law. The council voted to wait the usual 30 days before such an ordinance became law. Down came Zeehandelaar on the council and the ordinance was passed AT ONCE.

The following is the Record's story of Zee's spur track ordinance:

"BIG BUSINESS FORCES COUNCIL TO RE-CONSIDER ZEE'S PET ORDINANCE

"Big Business spanked the council, Thursday morning, for its mistake in delaying the passage of Zeehandelaar's spur track ordinance, and the measure was returned post haste from the legislation committee for quick adoption by the council next Wednesday, the last session of the old council.

"In deference to the protests of many property owners the council, last Tuesday, postponed action on the new spur track ordinance for 30 days, or, in fact, until the new council could look over the Zeehandelaar ordinance.

"The delay was unexpected by the M. & M. and jobbers' association, and their wrath was great. So sure were these organizations that the council would not dare to fail to carry out the wishes of

Big Business that not a representative was in the council chamber when the ordinance came up for passage.

"When word reached the M. & M. and jobbers' association that the council had procrastinated, Zeehandelaar and several of his satellites rushed to the city hall and ranted and raved about the council chamber, but as the council had adjourned, their seething was in vain.

ON HAND THURSDAY

"They and scores of others were on hand Thursday morning when the legislation committee met to consider other matters. The array of Big Business was too imposing for Betouski and Miles Gregory to withstand. All business was side-tracked and scores of common people there on scheduled business were kept waiting, while Zeehandelaar and others demanded that the spur track ordinance be at once sent back to the council.

"Uncle Jerry Andrews made a brave fight against them. He told them frankly that he believed an applicant for a spur track should secure a majority frontage from interested property owners rather than a majority of the property owners should be forced to organize to keep out a spur track that would prove a detriment to their property.

FORGOT 'EM

"When matters in which ordinary people are interested are postponed 30 days, the council and council committees forget them. But the impromptu hearing for Zeehandelaar and the M. & M., and of which the protestants had no inkling, was waged with zest on the part of Gregory and Betkouski.

"Betouski, who is working overtime for Big Business in gratitude for his place on the Old Guard's gumshoe ticket of candidates for the council, sped Zeehandelaar's spur track ordinance back to the council. Miles Gregory, who has just one more council session, aided.

"Big Business, distrustful of the new council, is most eager to get all it can out of the old council, and consequently wants its spur track ordinance before the new year.

TO BE REOPENED

"The council next Wednesday will be asked to reconsider its 30-day procrastination and adopt the ordinance in face of all protest.

"An attempt was made to forget the 30-day delay. Betouski as-

sented that it was not authorized in the resolution and Clerk of the Council Dave Carroll agreed.

"Councilman Whiffen, who made the motion to postpone action, was in the council chamber, and declared he certainly intended to have 30 days included in his motion. On this first-hand testimony Carroll looked up the council minutes, and, after a sharp perusal, found the 30-day clause."

Perhaps the most brazen effrontery of the aftermath was the restoration of a license to a notorious dive-keeper. Down in the abyss of the city this man had power with hundreds of its denizens. He had been broken by the "Good Government" party. In their political distress they offered restoration and restitution to this pariah and he became one of their lieutenants.

A few days after election he opened up. The Goo Goos blame all this sort of thing on the Old Guard and the Old Guard returns the compliment!

To all of this chicanery Alexander is the willing agent. His re-appointment of Gen. A. R. Chaffee to the board of public works was the most distinct concession to date to Big Business. Chaffee is a dummy—a bone head, but never fails to safeguard the interests of the S. P. and the M. & M.

THE BOND QUESTION

An argument that won thousands of votes for Alexander was the assertion that if the Socialists were elected nobody would buy the city's bonds.

After the election it turned out that nobody wanted the bonds, anyway.

The city's financiers have been in a frenzy since December 5, 1911, on this question. If the Socialists were in power now this would undoubtedly constitute in the minds of thousands sufficient warrant for a recall.

The Tribune of October 30, 1911, said in big black headlines:

"Los Angeles has millions invested in aqueduct, power, harbor and municipal railway enterprises. Millions more are needed to complete these great undertakings.

"The credit of Los Angeles must be maintained, ELSE BONDS CANNOT BE SOLD to finish this great work. CAPITALISTS ARE HESITATING ABOUT BUYING BONDS UNTIL THEY KNOW ALEXANDER IS RE-ELECTED!"

The Tribune of February 1, 1912, contains the following:
CARNEGIE INVITES LOS ANGELES' MAYOR TO VISIT NEW YORK

Laird of Skibo Suggests Trip in Interest of Sale of City Bonds

Andrew Carnegie yesterday invited Mayor Alexander to visit New York and qualify as a bond seller by disposing of the remaining aqueduct securities. The laird of Skibo expressed confidence in the mayor's ability—as he should in a brother Scotchman. The letter was in reply to one sent to Carnegie by the mayor, urging his good offices in assisting in the sale of bonds. The letter follows:

"New York, Jan. 25, 1912.

"My Dear Mr. Mayor: It is true I am a good friend of Los Angeles and I hope of its popular mayor, upon whom I congratulate that city, but I am not in the bond business and, truly speaking, I do not think the city of Los Angeles needs anybody to praise its bonds; they will pass as unquestioned, I think. If you would come on to New York I think you could soon find a purchaser. Why not? Yours ever,

"ANDREW CARNEGIE."

Los Angeles is not unacquainted with the alms of Carnegie. She is the recipient of a few small charity libraries scattered around town—libraries wrung out of the blood of the toilers of Pittsburg! Now, having failed with the gamblers of Wall street she goes begging to Carnegie again.

THE PLEA OF GUILTY AND AFTER

C. P. Connolly in Colliers of December 23, 1911, undertakes to tell where the \$190,000 defense fund went. He says:

"To understand how crucial the situation was from their point of view, bear in mind that the Socialists were equipped with the machinery of a powerful propaganda. Their headquarters were run on a huge scale, with large forces of clerks. Their speaking campaign required the renting of public halls night after night. They passed around the collection plate at these public meetings, but the funds thus derived could not have constituted more than a mere drop toward the heavy expenses of their campaign. The impression current in Los Angeles was that a share of the McNamara defense fund had been diverted to financing the Socialist campaign. If an accounting is ever made of the funds turned over to Darrow, it will probably be shown that the Socialist campaign was part of his stage setting for the case. He had done such things before. It is conceivable that he

built up the Socialist sentiment to terrorize capital and so create a basis for a trade later should an emergency develop. If no thought of a trade had originally been in his mind, at least he realized that a strong Socialist and labor sentiment in the community must help the defense. Do not understand me as reflecting here upon the large number of earnest and sincere Socialists who saw nothing in their fight but a suddenly awakened consciousness on the part of the people to the alleged rascality of a so-called capitalistic government. But no observer of politics could be deceived into the belief that this tremendous and far-reaching Socialist campaign was due to natural conditions. There was money and there was directing genius behind it."

The above statement seems plausible and was probably accepted as true by thousands of people.

It is just about as true, however, as the following extract from the same article:

"The first intimation of what had happened came to Harriman when he heard the newsboys on the street shouting announcements of the pleas of guilty."

I have already detailed how Harriman got the news. Both of the above statements are figments of Conolly's fertile imagination—both equally far removed from the truth.

Darrow took no interest whatever in our fight until the primary election. He was interested then as others were, because the vote was a surprise. No outsiders believed that we could poll the solid strength of the labor vote. It never had been done—no one believed it ever could. It fooled Darrow—it fooled Connolly—it fooled tens of thousands.

After the primary election Darrow collected about \$300 among his friends in Chicago and handed it into the campaign fund. Connolly could have gotten the facts. He could have had the details of every cent of income and outgo for the asking.

He must have gotten his impressions from the Times, for this is what the Los Angeles Times said: "It is conjectured and not denied that this appeal" (our appeal for funds) "has already brought here as much as \$500,000."

The hysterical Otis organ frequently charged us with using the defense fund of the McNamaras.

The questions Connolly did ask in our headquarters would indicate that our being a side show to Darrow was an afterthought to him. It came with the plea of guilty.

A WORD PICTURE OF OTIS BY THE GOVERNOR OF CALIFORNIA

"In the city (San Francisco) from which I have come we have drunk to the very dregs the cup of infamy; we have had vile officials; we have had rotten newspapers; we have had men who sold their birthright; we have dipped into every infamy; every form of wickedness has been ours in the past; every debased passion and every sin has flourished. But we have nothing so vile, nothing so low, nothing so debased, nothing so infamous in San Francisco, nor did we ever have, as Harrison Gray Otis. * * * He sits there in senile dementia, with gangrened heart and rotting brain, grimacing at every reform, chattering impotently at all things that are decent, frothing, fuming, violently gibbering, going down to his grave in snarling infamy. This man Otis is the one blot on the banner of Southern California; he is the bar sinister upon your escutcheon. My friends, he is the one thing that all California looks at when, in looking at Southern California, they see anything that is disgraceful, depraved, corrupt, crooked and putrescent—that is Harrison Gray Otis."



*The Citizen Print Shop,
203 New High St.*



